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**HISTORY OF THE
BISHOPS OF PANAMA**



HIS GRACE DR. GUILLERMO ROJAS Y ARRIETA
First Archbishop of Panamá.

HISTORY OF THE BISHOPS OF PANAMA

By His Grace

GUILLERMO ROJAS Y ARRIETA

Archbishop of Panama

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH

EDITED BY T. J. McDONALD C. M.



IMPRENTA DE LA ACADEMIA

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NOTE OF THANKS

We wish to thank all who helped us so efficiently in the translation and the preparation of the English manuscript of this history, and we trust that they will have a satisfactory share in the realization that they are helping to instruct the public in a history that was very little known in the English language.

PUBLISHER.

INTRODUCTION

In so much as we have long felt the want of some history of the oldest Diocese in the New World, or on the Western continent, we have snatched the time from distracting cares and duties to place before the people in English, a work of study and love, still in manuscript form. This has been written by no less a personage than the present Archbishop of Panamá. When he was consecrated Bishop, he saw the necessity of writing the highly interesting story of his Diocese, placing it before the people that they might study the beginnings and the developments of the most historic diocese in the New World. The land to first welcome the great standard bearer, Columbus, and his followers, must ever be of interest to those who appreciate the discovery of the West. The work is called the *History of the Bishops of Panamá*. It is not indeed replete with details, but partakes more of the simple narrative from which we can draw our own conclusions. This was always a harrassed and troubled country. The harbor of hope and despair: from the beginning there was nothing steady or secure on the shores of this land, where was landed the best in piety and inspiration that the ideals of Spain could produce, but unfortunately with the avarice and ambitious jealousy of a triumphant race, virtue soon suffered an eclipse, though the data are meagre, still we have enough to piece the plan of truth over the ruins of the noble institutions that now lie in pathetic stillness for the study of posterity. Monsignor Rojas, now Archbishop of Panamá, has judiciously gathered the fragments of his venerable predecessors, and narrates in the chaste and unornamented urn of his story, the exploits of those noble men who pioneered the diocese over which he now holds authority. Far nobler than the story of the Conquistadores is the history of those who laid the foundation of spiritual empire in the new land and on the virgin soil of the Western continent. The pedlers of gold

were so immersed in their blind traffic, that too often they forgot the sacrifices and hardships of those who were working with them and even ahead of them, with the greatest sacrifice to carry out the pledges of the great discoverer and the great Kings and Queens who sent him here. We would not indeed detract from those chivalric Knights who with noble ideals left the victorious flag of their country flying over the towers of Castille, and gave their hearts and their fortunes to their dreams of Andean Empires, but when we read the labors and the privations of the heroic Bishops that came not only for the souls of the Western conquerors, but also for the souls of the be-knighted pagans, how hard they labored and how long they suffered, we are lifted to a higher plain; we are more grateful for the providence that produced such men than for all the gold that was carried from the West to the East, in fact, we forget gold and we forget conquest and we forget royal ambition when we stand face to face with men that could and did give up everything to extend the Kingdom of God. We know that this history of the West, speaks for itself, and the facts of the past that are martialed out to give lessons and inspiration to the present will serve the noble purpose of gratitude, for an inheritance so dearly bought and faithfully transmitted, and an inspiration to pass it on by adding our feeble efforts to the past.

T. J. McDONALD C. M.

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PREFACE

We are undertaking a study which will cause us no little difficulty because of the lack of documents and data referring to this diocese, from the point of view we are about to consider it. The compendium of the History of Panama written by Messrs. Juan B. Sosa and Enrique J. Arce, which has been adopted as a text for the study of this subject, in the official schools of the republic, is extremely deficient, regarding the information of the ecclesiastical regime of this part of the Viceroyship of New Granada; and the civil and ecclesiastical History of New Granada written by Don José Manuel Groot also suffers from laconic relation to the ancient province of Panamá, confining itself to the most striking and notable events as was natural, since he wrote the history of the whole viceroyship, and not of the province in particular.

We declare therefore that this work should not be considered in any way complete and perfect; nor is this our plan, but simply to compile what we may find concerning the bishops who have occupied the See of Panamá from its foundation to our day, in order that these memoirs may not perish. More facile pens with better data and better material will complete and perfect them. We state furthermore that it is not our intention to write a biography of each bishop nor a compendium of the ecclesiastical history of Panamá, but, to set down that, which in the future may be of some help in the making of a history in proper form.

CHAPTER I

1. Erection of the episcopal see of Panamá.
2. First bishop, Fray Juan de Quevedo.
3. Moving of the See from Santa María la Antigua to Panamá.

1. The first site of the Episcopal See of Panamá was Santa María la Antigua, a town founded toward the end of 1510 by Vasco Núñez de Balboa on the left bank of the Tarena, a league and a half from the mouths of Atrato in the Gulf of Urabá. Here is what we read of its erection in an excerpt taken from a collection of Bulls and Briefs and other documents from the learned pen of Father Francisco Javier Hernáez, S. J.: "Its See was at first in Santa María la Antigua del Darién on the left bank of the river flowing from Southeast to Northeast, which gives its name to the Province and Gulf of Darién or Urabá. Said province from the Gulf to Nombre de Dios situated about seven leagues to the East of Portobelo, was formerly called *Castilla de Oro* and this title Paul II gives to the Bishop of Panamá when in 1546 (Reinaldi N. 156 of said year) he included him among the suffragans of Lima.

Leo X calls it *Bética Nueva*. In *Castilla de Oro* was built in 1510 the first church of the entire American continent and it was established as a cathedral according to Dávila, in the year 1513 first year of the pontificate of Leon X, August 28, as the Bull adds."

2. The first bishop who trod on the mainland of this new continent was Friar Juan Quevedo, native of Bejori in the mountains of Burgos, a Franciscan religious, of great prudence and piety who came in July of 1514 accompanying Pedro Arias Dávila as a member of his council. It is very likely that he may have been named at the same time as the establishment of the Bishopric, that is, the year before, but there is no certainty of this. Nor do the writers of those times say anything concerning the episcopacy of

Friar Juan de Quevedo, except that the removal of the Episcopal See to Panamá, (Groot, *His. Ec. y Civil de Nueva Granada*) took place under his administration. This, however, does not appear very clear as we see in the following article.

3. Mr. Groot and Messrs. Arce y Sosa do not agree with one another, nor with the author of the Collection of Bulls and Briefs, as to the year and details of the removal of the Episcopal See of Santa María de la Antigua to Panamá. The first attributes it, to a disagreement between Pedro Arias Dávila and the Hieronimite Fathers, even during the lifetime of the very Illustrious Señor Quevedo who died in Barcelona in 1519. Here are his words: "It was, therefore, at Darién that was established the first Episcopal See of South America and its removal to Panamá* which was effected before a notary in the name of Queen Juana and of her son don Carlos, in the year 1518."

The Bishop, don Friar Juan de Quevedo died some time after the foundation of the Cathedral and the Ecclesiastical Council. As a result of his death Friar Vicente Peraza, a Dominican, came to the occupancy of the See.

This seems to agree with what Herrera says (Decr. 2, 1, 4, c. 1): "The King wrote to Pedrarias (in 1519) that should it be fitting for that city to be in Panamá, remove the Cathedral wherever you might deem it proper." And Herrera himself in the Decr. 3, 1, 10, c. 9 in the year 1526 says: "Although Pedrarias Dávila, as has been said, transferred the city of Santa María de la Antigua del Darién to Panamá, still the cathedral remained at Antigua, and the king did not agree that it should be moved, being of the opinion that having been the first settlement and colony of the Spaniards on the mainland, it was well that it should be kept there, for which reason he ordered that the stipends of the clergy should be increased."

"I suspect from these last words," says the author of the Collection of Bulls and Briefs, "that the king in 1519 gave permission to move the Episcopal See to Panamá, for the reason that he did not wish that the first church be entirely abandoned, because of which he ordered that the stipends of the clergy, (he does not say of the Bishops, nor of the Council or Canons), should be

(*) Panamá was the name of the place to which it was removed and from which it took the name which it now bears.

increased; so that in consideration of its antiquity that Church be maintained with more decorum." Messrs. Arce and Sosa attribute to Friar Vicente Peraza (whom they call Pedraza) the removal of the See to Panamá. Here is what they say on page 79 of their "Compendio de la Historia de Panamá."

"The See of Darién also passed to Panamá for Bishop Quevedo having died in Spain late in 1519, the new Prelate, Friar Vicente Pedraza brought instructions to remove the ecclesiastical government to that town, which had been granted by a decree of the 15 of September 1521, the title of city and the honor of an escutcheon, consisting of a shield of a field of gold divided vertically, with a yoke and a sheaf of arrows on the right half and on the left two sailing caravels and a star in the upper part. For a border castles and lions." Probably this fact was taken from Dávila who confused Peraza with Pedraza and said that he erected the Cathedral when in the Convent of San Pablo de Burgos 1521. Charvoix (2, 6, p. 274) is inclined to believe it took place in 1519. (Cfr. the Collection above mentioned.)

From this it is concluded that the time of the removal of the Cathedral to Panamá is uncertain. The *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico de las Indias Occidentales o América* written by Colonel Don Antonio de Alcedo, Captain of the Royal Spanish Guards, and member of the Royal Academy of History says that Friar Juan de Quevedo returned from Panamá to Spain and had many disputes with Friar Bartolomé de las Casas in the presence of Emperor Charles V over the liberation of the Indians for which he was convinced, and Friar Bartolomé was victorious. Friar Juan never returned to his diocese and died a short time afterwards in Barcelona.

CHAPTER II

1. Confusion in the Chronology.
2. Friar Vicente Peraza, second Bishop of Panamá.

1. We find the writers of the sixteenth century very disconcerted in that which refers to the erection of the Bishopric of Panamá and its removal to the new city. The geography of the Dominican Bull confuses Santa María la Antigua of Darién with Antequera of Oaxaca in Mexico and distinguishes the bishop of Panamá from the bishop of Castilla de Oro, when in reality he is the same. Cavalieri makes of Friar Vicente Peraza, two Vicentes, one Peraza and the other Pedraza. The same Herrera whom we have previously mentioned after having said (Decr. 2, 1, 4, c. 1) that Pedrarias had removed the See in 1519 to Panamá, says afterwards, in 1527, (Decr. 4, 1, 1, 3, 9) that the king presented Friar Martín de Béjar of the order of St. Francis as Bishop of the church of Santa María la Antigua of Darién, which by the death of Friar Vicente Peraza had been left vacant. And later in 1531, (1, 10, c. 5) he wrote: "Friar Tomás de Berlanga of the order of St. Dominic was appointed as bishop of Santa María la Antigua del Darién, who already resided in Panamá on account of the death of Friar Vicente Peraza. Terrubia affirms that it was not until the Consistory of the 11th. Feb. 1534 that the See of Panamá was founded, and in it was presented with its first Bishop the Friar Tomás de Berlanga. Dávila says that it was in the time of Friar Martín de Béjar that the See was removed from Antigua to the City of Panamá in 1527, and the Dominican collection of Bulls gives us Friar Pablo Torres as bishop of Panamá for the year 1528, when in reality he was elected in 1546.

2. But, in spite of that confusion we have been able to discover two things, that is, that Friar Vicente Peraza (and not Pedraza) was the successor of Friar Juan de Quevedo and consequently the second bishop of Panamá; that he was elected on the 5th of December, 1520, by a bull which is in the Dominical Col-

lection of Bulls (vol. 4, Appendix of Leon X) and the consistory of the first of December, 1520.

We can say nothing concerning his episcopate for we have not discovered anything in the documents from which we have gathered our previous data.

Friar Vicente Peraza was of the Order of Saint Dominic and a member of the College of Saint Gregory of Valladolid.

CHAPTER III

1. Friar Martín Béjar, third Bishop of Panamá.
2. Lack of data.

1. Friar Vicente Peraza was succeeded as substitute by Friar Martín de Béjar, a Franciscan religious who governed the diocese until 1530 when Friar Tomás de Berlanga was named bishop. It is possible, as Dávila says, that he may have been elected a short time after the death of Friar Vicente Peraza, that is about the year 1526, but we have no exact data on this subject. He was a native of Sevilla.

2. There is the same obscurity with reference to the events of his episcopacy; we have been able to ascertain nothing about the important affairs that may have taken place.

CHAPTER IV

1. Friar Tomás de Berlanga, fourth Bishop of Panamá.
2. Erection of the Cathedral and other buildings.
3. Introduction of plantain, vegetables and cattle to the colony.

1. Although appointed in 1530, it was not until 1533 that Friar Tomás de Berlanga a Dominican, native of the town of his name in Spain, took possession of this ecclesiastical government as Bishop.

He was Provincial of his order when he was promoted to the See of Panamá. He governed it only three years, for he resigned it in 1537.

2. During his administration the site for the construction of the Cathedral was selected, and the excavation for the foundations was commenced, as well as the foundations for the Convent of La Merced. He was a very zealous and enterprising bishop and as in his epoch so much was to be done, he found ample field in which to exercise his activity. Not only did he see to the construction of churches and chapels in the places most needed, but he extended his activity and solicitude even to affairs which did not come directly into his line of duty, but which might be of advantage to the recently established colony. Governor Antonio de la Gama found in him an active cooperator in his work of material progress and reform of customs. Both attacked with ardor the idleness and vagrancy which had become very common at that time with their consequent vices, and initiated the rebuilding of Natá destroyed two years before by the Indians. In his day was begun the bridle path to Nombre de Dios.

3. To Bishop Tomás de Berlanga some attribute the introduction into America of the plantain, (large and nutritious) known by the name of dominico, which name was given, it is said, in honor of the Dominican Order to which this prelate belonged, but others, with more certainty, assert that it received this name on account of its having been introduced from the island of Santo Domingo. This seems to us more correct.

He worked with apostolic zeal for the evangelizing of the Indians and had the consolation of seeing the faith spread among various tribes, thanks to the cooperation of priests, animated by like zeal.

He helped the governors who succeeded each other during his episcopal administration, especially the licentiate Pedro Vásquez de Acuña, in the propagation of agriculture among the natives, fostering the cultivation of orange trees, lemon trees, pomegranates, figs, watermelons, melons, sugar cane and various kinds of bananas, rice, onions, tomatoes, parsley, coriander, beans of different kinds, yam introduced by the slaves, and many other species of seeds and vegetables. There existed already in the country as native products of this soil, the medlar-pear, alligator pear, mamey, pineapple, mango, cashew, custard apple, caimito, papaw, jobo, (monkey plum), sour-sap, corn, cacao, yuca, otó, sweet potato, zapallo, pumkin, pépper, anotta and many kinds of beans. This was without doubt one of the most prosperous epochs of the colony for at this time they introduced also cattle, horses, asses, hogs and goats, barnyard fowl, like chickens, turkeys, geese, pigeons called of "Castilla," and other domestic animals like dogs and cats, etc. to the introduction and propagation of which the Illustrious Sr. Berlanga contributed actively and zealously, aided by his clergy stationed throughout the colony.

Señor Berlanga died in his native land in the year 1551.

CHAPTER V

1. Friar Pablo Torres, 5th. Bishop of Panamá.
2. Struggle with the Contreras.
3. Founding of the city of Los Santos and of Santiago de Olá.
4. Death of the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar.
5. Establishing of the See of Santafé de Bogotá.

1. The fifth bishop of Panamá was Friar Pablo Torres, Dominican, whom we find acting in this capacity in the year 1550, although he had already been named since the year 1546. We do not know in what year Señor Torres took office because we find nothing in the documents which we have at hand: it is possible, however, that he did so shortly after his promotion, because from 1537 when Señor Berlanga resigned the See, until 1550 when Señor Torres already appears as bishop, thirteen years elapsed, too long a time for a vacancy in those days when the Spanish rulers endeavored to make the interruptions as short as possible.

2. Poor Friar Pablo Torres had the misfortune of having a controversy with the grandchildren of Pedro Arias Dávila, Hernando and Pedro Contreras, who after assassinating the bishop of Nicaragua and committing many other crimes there, came to Panamá in persecution of Don Pedro de la Gasca, whom they say was on his way to Spain taking enormous wealth. These bandits disembarked with two hundred men at day break of the 20th. of April 1550 in the city and captured it without resistance, due to the absence of the Governor, Don Sancho Clavijo who had gone to Nombre de Dios accompanying Don Pedro de la Gasca. Immediately they fell to the sacking of the city and the inhabitants who had been surprised, not being able to flee nor to hide their possessions were abused in different ways and robbed of everything they had. The Illustrious Señor Torres was tied to a post in the principal plaza where the barbarous soldiers insulted him, scoffed at him and outraged him as in former times the Jews had done

with His Divine Master. The inhabitants of the city having recovered from their astonishment, released their bishop; armed, and of their own accord organized themselves, and set out to overtake the Contreras who were on the way to Nombre de Dios for the persecution of de la Gasca. The latter on receiving the news of the happenings in Panamá detached some of his forces which he sent to the aid of the city. A battle was fought in the outskirts of the city itself, the Contreras, who were between two fires, were completely defeated and according to general opinion perished therein.

3. At this time in the year 1556 while the licentiate don Juan Ruiz de Manjaraz was governor of this mainland and when the Reverend Friar Pedro de Santa María, a Dominican religious, was the parish priest of some of the native tribes, there were founded the cities of La Villa de Los Santos on the banks of the river Cubita (today the La Villa river) and that of Santa Elena (today Parita) on the banks of the river of its name. Santiago de Olá was also founded at three leagues from Natá.

4. Two events with which Panamá has some connection coincided with these dates, that is, the death of the Adelantado don Sebastián de Belalcázar which occurred in Cartagena, when in 1550 he was going to Spain to vindicate himself of the charges made against him by the judge Briceño and for which he had been sentenced to death. The great Belalcázar the companion of Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quezada and of Frederman—conqueror of the south of the new kingdom of Granada, founder of several very important cities of Cauca and of Antioquia, on seeing himself treated as a criminal and obliged to appeal to the court, was filled, says Groot, with such sadness and melancholy that his courage, although great, was crushed to such a degree that death was the result. Belalcázar had come with the governor Pedro Arias Dávila, founder of Panamá, to the conquest of Santo Domingo, the Spanish Island, bringing at his expense people, horses, arms, and ammunition, and in truth, was one of the most famous conquistadores.

5. The second event was the establishment of the See of Santafé de Bogotá into an Archbishopric, by the Bull "In suprema dignitatis Apostolicæ Apectula," issued by His Holiness Pius IV at the request of King Philip II in Rome, the 11th. of April, 1553, in which it was decreed that the Cathedral of Santa María

with its prelate and ecclesiastical council should be removed to Santafé, establishing it into a Metropolitana with the suffragan bishoprics of Cartagena and Popayán, separating the latter from the Archbishopric of Lima, and the former from that of Santo Domingo, reducing Santa Marta to an abbey.

CHAPTER VI

1. Friar Juan de Vaca, sixth bishop of Panamá.
2. Revolt of Rodrigo Méndez.
3. Great fire in Old Panamá.

1. From 1561-1563 we find heading the diocese, under the civil government of Luis de Guzmán, the Illustrious Friar Juan de Vaca, a Benedictine religious and successor to Friar Pablo Torres. He had been abbot of the monasteries of Sahagún and of Carrión, and was presented by Philip II for this bishopric.

2. During his time, took place the revolt of Rodrigo Méndez, who taking advantage of the absence of the Governor, then in Nombre de Dios, rose in arms and took the city. Señor de Vaca encouraged and exhorted some of the captains and royal officers who had escaped the persecution of Méndez, promising them his help and cooperation, to muster people and to come to eject the usurper from the city. They did this, and assembling about three hundred men they attacked him in the very city, for Méndez had concentrated his forces in the principal park facing the Cathedral. The combat started, and the usurper realizing that he was lost, fled into the temple where he was taken prisoner and led to jail. The rebels were brought to trial, which resulted in death for Méndez, lashes and service in the galleys for the rest.

3. Another unfortunate occurrence which took place during the episcopacy of the Illustrious Señor de Vaca, was the tremendous fire which destroyed forty houses in March of 1563. It began at midnight in one of the thatched houses of the city, and even though the people hastened with water, now in jugs, now in zocobes (a specie of large gourd) now in gourds, or in any way which occurred to them, the destructive element spread rapidly, the consternation of the town growing more and more. In the midst of the consternation the Illustrious Señor de Vaca had the happy idea of taking in procession the Blessed Sacrament and carrying It in front of the houses that were burning, and a wonder-

ful thing happened! The conflagration diminished slowly until about four in the morning when it ceased completely. In view of the magnitude of the flames, of the breeze which blew and of the fact that almost all the houses of the city were thatched, the almost sudden cessation of the fire was considered a miracle. Already in 1539 there had been another fire in Panamá, although not as large as this one, and later in the course of this historical narrative we shall speak of others.

In that very year of 1563 the Illustrious Señor de Vaca and Governor Guzmán died.

The death of the Prelate was very much mourned for he was much loved by the faithful.

CHAPTER VII

1. Friar Francisco Abrego, seventh Bishop of Panamá.
2. First attacks of the pirates. Francis Drake. Capture of Nombre de Dios.
3. The idea of fortifying Nombre de Dios is conceived.

1. In the six years which elapsed between 1563-1569 we do not find any bishop governing the diocese: it is very possible that it was a vacant bishopric. In 1569 was named the Illustrious Señor Don Francisco Abrego who governed it until 1574, that is, five years.

2. In his time began the attacks of the pirates on the small colony established at the mouth of the Chagres river and along the coast of Nombre de Dios and San Blas. The first of these pirates who attempted to invade the territory and to take possession of the property which the Spaniards had there, was the famous Francis Drake, an Englishman, who with about two hundred men assaulted the small town of Nombre de Dios on the night of the ninth of July of 1572. The Spaniards and the negro slaves who accompanied them, recovered from the stupor caused by the surprise of the sudden attack, seized their "chopos" (guns), sabres, machetes and cudgels, resisting with such bravery and success that at dawn they had defeated the enemy forcing him to reembark. Even the female negro slaves took part in the combat, many of them giving proof of remarkable valor.

3. The Illustrious Sr. Abrego, on receiving news of what had occurred in the little town on the Atlantic, for at that time Nombre de Dios did not have more than some thirty houses, all thatched, began to suggest the idea of fortifying the entrance to the bay, all the more because the relatively narrow entrance and the neighboring islets lent themselves to such a project. The idea was received with enthusiasm by the authorities, but since authorization of the King was necessary to carry it out, he determined to go to Spain in search of it, deferring for the time being the accom-

plishment of his important design. Affairs continued in this manner until the year 1584 when Philip II gave a royal decree ordering the founding and fortifying of Portobelo with funds from the royal treasury. The fact is that it was not accomplished until 1597 either because the royal decree was delayed in arriving or because those charged with its execution neglected the fulfillment of their duty. In this year Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado being governor, and the diocese having a vacant bishopric, the engineer Juan Bautista Antonelli (an Italian) was commissioned to make plans not only of the city and the forts of San Felipe of Portobelo, but those of San Lorenzo de Chagres as well. The Illustrious Señor Abrego died in 1574.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Friar Manuel de Mercado Alderete, eighth Bishop of Panamá.
2. Rebellion of the savage negroes.
3. New attacks of the pirates. Juan Oxeham. Sacking of Pearl Islands. Captain Juan Ortega.
4. Attack on the Province of Veraguas.
5. Pacification of the unruly negroes. Foundation of Santiago del Príncipe.
6. New appearance of Francis Drake. The construction of the Cathedral is commenced.

1. Friar Manuel de Mercado Alderete occupied the See of Panamá from 1577 until 1580. He was a religious of the order of St. Jerome. Although he governed the diocese only three years he had much to suffer both from the inroads of the pirates who crossing the Isthmus, came to attack the Spanish possessions on the Pacific, as from the continual revolts of the slaves, who had rebelled against their masters on account of the ill-treatment they received from the latter, and had taken refuge, some in the mountains of Portobelo and the coast of San Blas, and others toward the shores and head waters of the Río Chepo, today called the Bayano river, a name taken from the negro who headed the insurgents.

2. These slaves, to whom they gave the name of "cimarrones" were very numerous, especially on the San Blas coast, and constituted a constant menace to the colony, because they had been converted into bands of highwaymen and bandits who assaulted and robbed travelers. The Illustrious Señor Mercado y Alderete, commiserating the savage life which those unfortunate negroes led in the mountains, and hoping to be able to lead them back to their masters by means of promises, and concessions made to them, sent some priests with orders to live among them, and in the meanwhile to look after their spiritual welfare. The refugees of the San Blas coast proved more amenable, accepted the priest, welcomed him with pleasure but in no way consented to return to

their masters. The others, who were hidden in the hills of the region which now is called Chepo, would not even listen to reason although no longer under the command of the negro Bayano, their leader who had been captured by Captain Pedro de Ursúa and sent to Spain.

3. The Illustrious Señor Alderete, as a zealous Pastor greatly interested in the fate and spiritual welfare of the recently founded Christian communities in this part of the new continent, shared their sufferings caused by the inroads of the pirates which at this time became very frequent. By this time the invasions were not solely from the Atlantic but aided by the "cimarrones negros" who had told them that the distance between the two seas was not so great, as the Isthmus could be traversed in two days by paths which they knew as they had done so.

The first to present himself in the Gulf of San Miguel was the Englishman John Oxeham, who arrived there in rafts down the Tuira river. After attacking the few colonists that there were on the island of "el Rey" in the archipelago of Pearl Islands, robbing them of what they had, he intended to return to Panama. But unfortunately he couldn't bring many with him and Governor Gabriel Loarte, on hearing of the attack on the island, sent Captain Juan Ortega at the head of a force which could be hurriedly mustered, in pursuit of the bandits. They had already abandoned the island when Ortega arrived there, but knowing that they were headed toward the gulf whence they had come, he continued his pursuit. He overtook them on the mainland, attacked them and routed them, recovering the pearls, gold and other goods which they had robbed. Oxeham could not be captured because he disappeared in the jungle. Later he reappeared heading other parties of highwaymen and Captain Diego Frías captured him and sent him to Lima at the orders of the Viceroy.

4. Almost at the same time as this was happening, at a short distance from Panamá another, a French pirate called Silvestre, was attacking the Province of Veraguas where the Spaniards exploited some mines. These ruffians did enough harm with the robbery of property, but this was not all, they murdered the inhabitants, ill-treated them in every way, committing excesses and crimes which need not to be mentioned. All these evils grieved deeply the zealous Pastor.

5. During the diocesan administration of the Illustrious Señor Alderete, was accomplished the pacification of the "cimarrones negroes" of the Atlantic Coast, a work which was due more to the zeal, cooperation and decisive influence of the Prelate than to any other cause. The negroes demanded that they be declared free, that they should not be molested in the possession of the lands of which they considered themselves owners, and they promised in exchange to behave themselves, not to commit further outrages nor to cause more trouble to the authorities. The authorities on the advice of the Prelate accepted the proposal which was ratified by the King, and in order to watch them better and to keep them within bounds, there was founded in 1579 the town of Santiago del Príncipe, at a short distance from Nombre de Dios, with officials chosen from among the negroes, a Parish Priest and a garrison under the command of Captain Antonio Salcedo. This town no longer exists in our day, but descendants of those cimarrones negroes still exist, who have settled along the Atlantic Coast.

6. New fears and apprehensions were felt not only by the civil authorities but by the Illustrious Señor Alderete, on the re-appearance of Francis Drake, the celebrated English pirate who this time, rounding Cape Horn (1578) entered the Pacific by the South, attacking, sacking, ill-treating and killing the inhabitants of the towns, both natives and whites along the coasts of Chile and Peru. One can well imagine the consternation produced in Panamá at the news of this invasion and of the pirates intention to do likewise here. The Governor and the Bishop respectively began to make provisions in view of the danger which threatened them. The Bishop triumphed with his processions, prayers and fasts which he decreed; because the pirate, for some unknown reason resolved not to enter Panamá but to continue along the coast of Mexico and California, whence he turned his course to the Philippines and passing through the Cape of Good Hope he returned to Europe. He was, as may be seen, the first navigator who circumnavigated the globe, for which deed Queen Elizabeth of England knighted him.

7. The Illustrious Señor Berlanga had left excavated the foundations of the Cathedral, and it fell to the Illustrious Señor Alderete to begin the construction of the walls. Still may be seen in Old Panama the remains of these massive stone construc-

tions which the Spaniards used to make from a mixture or mortar which compares favorably in every way with the cement of to-day. The Illustrious Bishop Mercado de Alderete died in 1580.

CHAPTER IX

1. Don Bartolomé Ledesma, ninth Bishop of Panamá. Overthrow of the cimarrones negroes of the region of the Bayano. Antón Mandinga. Founding of the town of Pacora.
2. Works of the missionaries. Founding of Penonomé.
3. Reappearance of the English pirate Drake. He does not attack Panamá. Public rejoicing follows.

1. In 1580 the Illustrious Señor don Bartolomé Ledesma took in his hands the pastoral staff of this diocese. He had come at the same time as Don Pedro, president of the Royal Court. The new prelate began at once to exercise with zeal his pastoral ministry, interesting himself keenly in the conversion of the "cimarrones negroes" who inhabited the region of the Bayano. These were now governed by a negro called Antón Mandinga, a man with whom one could enter into negotiations. The same proposals that were made to those of San Blas were made to him, the bishop influencing him a great deal to accept them. He did so and in 1581 was signed the decree of the liberation, the negroes were assured of the lands they already possessed, officials were named for them, a parish priest was sent to them and with these people was founded the town of Pacora not very far from Panamá, Saint Nicholas being named its patron. The Royal Council sent them seeds to plant their land, tools for the cultivation of their farms and some cows so that they might propagate the breed.

2. The number of the inhabitants of the lovely plains which today form part of the Province of Coclé having already greatly increased, the Prelate took great interest with Judge Diego López de Zapata in urging them to gather at specified locations chosen by themselves, and to form towns like Natá and Olá already established, in order to facilitate the spiritual ministrations of those people, for the missionary priests were obliged to go on

foot through muddy rough roads to the different hamlets and dwellings, with meagre results for their fatigues and labors. On the other hand the reducing of the number of towns facilitated administration. The Judge, appreciating these suggestions in their full value, since, at that time, "thanks be to God," the civil and ecclesiastic powers were in perfect accord,—decreed in 1581 the founding of the town of Penonomé, which at the beginning was composed of the inhabitants of its surrounding country and of some who came from Olá.

3. In 1585 when the Illustrious Señor Ledesma was bishop, alarm was again spread throughout this town of the Mainland by the news of a reappearance of the awful pirate Drake in the seas of the Antilles. New measures were hastened to protect Nombre de Dios and the mouth of the Chagres, new processions and prayers, new anxiety for all. But prayer being more powerful, it was finally heard that Drake after sacking Santo Domingo, Río Hacha, Santa Marta and Cartagena, had resolved to return to England forced by the misfortunes and great loss of men which he suffered in those assaults. Happiness and rejoicing followed anxiety and affliction. The people, recognizing in this a favor from heaven, hastened to manifest their gratitude with solemn religious feasts and public demonstrations of thanks. Then there was real and abundant faith among our forefathers. The Illustrious Señor Ledesma died in 1587 after having governed his diocese for seven years.

CHAPTER X

1. Friar Bartolomé Martínez Menacho, tenth Bishop of Panamá.
2. Settlements in the Province of Chiriquí. Founding of Remedios and Alanje. Founding of Montijo.

1. One year after the death of the Illustrious Señor don Bartolomé Ledesma, Friar Bartolomé Martínez Menacho was named to succeed him. He was a native of Almendralejo in Extremadura, and Archdeacon of Lima. The difficult circumstances which the colony endured caused them not to delay the naming of the successor, for in truth, the continual invasions of the pirates kept the colony in a kind of state of siege and dangerous agitation.

2. The Licentiate Francisco de Cárdenas governed at that time. He had taken control of the Government one year before the Illustrious Señor Martínez Menacho took over his diocese, that is, the same year in which the Illustrious Señor don Bartolomé Ledesma died. The same reasons which caused the founding of Penonomé were presented now in connection with various hamlets and inhabited places in the region called the "Valley of the Moon" by the natives, or the Province of Chiriquí in our day. Both authorities agreed on the manner of limiting them in groups convenient and adequate to their occupations and to the places in which most of them were established. Thus it was that in 1591 were founded the towns of Our Lady of Remedios and Santiago de Alanje in Chiriquí, and San Pedro de Montijo in Veraguas, settlements made by Captains Pedro Fernández Cortés and Pedro de Morcillo Añasco in harmony with the missionary priests and the bishop.

3. The Illustrious Señor Friar Bartolomé Martínez Menacho died in 1594 in Cartagena when he was going to take charge of the Archbishopric of Santafé of Bogotá, for which he had been named.

CHAPTER XI

1. Don Pedro Duque de Rivera, eleventh Bishop of Panamá.
2. Another attack of Drake at Portobelo. Capture of the Port.
3. Thomas Bakersville attacks Panamá, and is defeated.
4. Death of Drake. He is buried at sea in bay of Portobelo.

1. After the removal of the Illustrious Señor Friar Bartolomé Martínez Menacho to the Archbishopric of Bogotá, Señor don Pedro Duque de Rivera came in 1594 to occupy the See of Panamá. (Don Pedro Duque Rivera had been a student of the college of Santa María de Jesús in Seville and dean of the Church of Santo Domingo). During his episcopacy another fearful attack was made on Portobelo and Panamá in 1595 by the already too well known English pirate Francis Drake. This time he brought more than one thousand well armed men, and without great difficulty took possession of Portobelo. One of his Captains, Thomas Bakersville, went up the Chagres with two hundred men with the intention of sacking Panamá; but don Alonso Sotomayor, ex-governor of Chile, a brave and intrepid soldier who had been sent to defend the colony, awaited him with his forces in the mountains, and inflicted upon him such a defeat that with great difficulty even a few in number were able to reach Nombre de Dios. Here they embarked after burning the town. As for Drake, who was at the time quite ill, on hearing of the defeat of Bakersville, became worse and died on one of the ships. It is said that the sailors put his body in a leaden casket and threw him into the bay of Portobelo. With the disappearance of this cruel man, calm and tranquility reigned for some time in those afflicted regions.

CHAPTER XII

1. Don Antonio Calderón, twelfth Bishop of Panamá.
2. The pirate William Parker takes Portobelo.
3. New settlements in the Province of Chiriquí. Father Melchor Hernández. Founding of San Pablo de Platanar, San Pedro de Aspátara, San Félix and Santiago de Guavala.
4. Death of the Illustrious Señor Calderón.

1. In 1599 we find the Illustrious Señor Don Antonio Calderón as bishop, he had been Dean of the Metropolitana of Santafé de Bogotá. which gives rise to the belief that his predecessor must have died the preceding year.

2. The attacks of pirates did not end with the death of the cruel Drake, for six years later, in 1602, one of his fellow countrymen, William Parker with two hundred men appeared at Portobelo making a surprise attack on it, on the night of the seventh of February. The inhabitants, in spite of the resistance which they offered were conquered and the town completely sacked.

3. The Illustrious Señor Calderón continued with zeal and vigor the evangelizing of the Indians, especially those who on account of their distance from the capital of the colony, up to that time had received least assistance. With the efficacious aid of a zealous missionary, Father Melchor Hernández, the conversion of those who inhabited "el Valle de la Luna" (Chiriquí) was started. These people founded several towns like those of San Pablo de Platanar, San Pedro de Aspátara, San Félix and Santiago de Guavala. Already for some time this courageous missionary had worked with great success among those savages, traversing on foot the considerable region inhabited by them, instructing them, baptizing them as far as he was able, and as far as the difficult circumstances of those days would permit, bringing them to a more civilized life. One can well

imagine what must have been the difficulties, the calamities, the dangers and sacrifices which this apostolic man had to face in the work of redemption, which he had undertaken, and in which, animated by the spirit of God he did not become discouraged. He finally saw his efforts crowned by the above mentioned conversions and foundations, which he himself proposed to the Council and to the Bishop for their approbation and execution. Also in Veraguas were founded in the time of the Illustrious Señor Calderón other towns which no longer exist.

4. The Illustrious Señor Calderón was advanced to the bishopric of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in 1605, leaving pleasant memories of his episcopacy, for besides being very zealous and enterprising he was also very charitable toward the poor.

CHAPTER XIII

1. Friar Agustín de Carvajal, thirteenth Bishop of Panamá. Religious orders established in the city.
2. Evangelical life of the missionaries.
3. Royal Decrees referring to the evangelizing of the Indians.
4. Delegates and their duties.
5. Parish Priests and their duties.
6. Appointing of authorities among the Indians.
7. Conduct which should be observed toward the Indians.
8. Prohibition in regard to the ill-treatment of the natives.
9. Hospital of San Sebastián.
10. Work on the Cathedral. Its Consecration. Construction of Santa Ana Church.
11. First Seminary of Panamá and first bells placed in the Cathedral.

1. Friar Agustín de Carvajal, an edifying, cultured and zealous Augustinian born in México, came to the See. When this Bishop was promoted to this See, Panamá was already quite a large city of much importance. There had been founded in it, the Convents of Santo Domingo, San Agustín, San Francisco and La Merced, whose religious members were charged with the evangelizing and conversion of the native tribes. The Jesuit Fathers, who already in 1559 had been called to Santafé de Bogotá by the Illustrious Señor don Bartolomé Loboquerrero, were very probably established in Panamá in the year 1600 or perhaps before, for it is evident that that year there existed already in Panamá a House of the Society of Jesus, for there were those who believed that a Province might be formed of the houses of Quito and Panamá. The superiors however judged that two houses only, were too few to form a province, so the establishment was not carried out. The founder of the Padres Recoletos in Panamá was Friar Vicente Mayol, as is gathered from a work entitled Restauration of the Province of Candelaria written by Friar P. Fabo, an Augustinian Recolecto, in which he thus describes the foundation: "Extremely

strange was the cause which brought about the foundation of the Convent of San José in 1610. As Friar Juan de San Agustín, first choir novice to be received in el Desierto, and Friar Juan de la Concepción, were ready to receive orders, and as there was no bishop either in Santafé or in Cartagena, the two religious were obliged to move to Panamá, then the seat of the Augustinian Bishop, the very Illustrious Sr. don Friar Agustín de Carvajal, who gladly ordained them. Then was conceived the idea of establishing there the order of the Barefoot Augustinians, in which the most virtuous prelate aided zealously. If to this cooperation is added the presence of the ex-Provincial Friar Vicente Mayol who moved there, in order to carry out the foundation of a convent and church, it will readily be understood with what rapidity and real earnestness they interested themselves in this affair."

2. In each of these convents there were at least six religious, truly apostolic priests, zealous, humble, to whom as Groot says, these countries owe their civilization and their progress. Bearers of the evangelical Light and of the practice of Christianity, from these convents, which served them as a residence and a starting point, they made frequent excursions accompanied by two or three people who carried the necessary equipment for the journey, to the places inhabited by the savages, manifestly exposing their lives not alone to the cruelty and to the fierce instincts of the tribes likewise the inclemency of a scorching and unhealthy climate, to the attacks of reptiles, to the claws of jaguars, to the fierce currents of the rivers and to many other hazards in which not a few of them sacrificed their lives.

3. Naturally, at that time the principal and essential occupation of those religious in connection with the Indians was to teach them and convert them little by little to a civilized life. Various royal edicts had been given for this purpose by the sovereigns of Spain which the judges and the governors ordered to be carried out by means of laws. The following was embodied therein: That the Indians be instructed and taught the Doctrines and Mysteries of our Holy Catholic Faith, that they be protected and defended in their liberty, and that they live in order and Christian harmony leading them to their salvation, improving their lives and customs, and that outrages and harms which they had received should cease for the good and peaceful government of the Indians.

4. The supervisors were instructed to make decent and

adequate churches in each town and to see that each church should have a permanent priest who should know the language of the tribe which he was teaching, and serve as missionary priest, without demanding anything from the Indians for his service in the ministry; nor should he receive anything whatsoever which they might offer voluntarily and spontaneously. The delegates on the other hand were to give them as an annual stipend \$150 in gold of twenty karats besides 6 pounds of wax, a jug (*botija*) and a half of wine, and five bushels of shelled corn.

5. The missionary priests were especially charged to see that the Indians speak the Spanish language which they called Christian, even among themselves; but the teaching of doctrine should be made in the native language so that all might understand, hence, the priests were obliged to know it themselves. The priests were also ordered to leave the Indians entirely free to dispose of their possessions in their wills like free people.

6. It was provided that in each of the towns on the first of January they should name two from among the most learned of their people to serve as mayors (*Alcaldes*) for that year; administering justice among the individuals of their town and directing them in the work of cultivation. For the aid of the aged, and orphans, and the indigent, it was ordered that they should assist, under the supervision of a magistrate, in making a large community farm, the products of which were destined for the benefit of these unfortunates.

7. The Delegates were forbidden to take the Indians to work in the mines because many of them had died; and in general it was forbidden to take them to work under climatic conditions different from those to which they were accustomed, an objection which the Indians themselves made on account of the harmful results to their health. The rates of salaries were fixed, which were to be paid to the Indians, who worked in farms or private houses, so that no one should deceive them or take advantage of their ignorance. It was absolutely forbidden that the delegates or anyone force the Indians to carry on their backs any load whatsoever, no matter how small, to carry it for a short distance, even when they themselves offered to do so.

8. In another of these statutes it said: "That inasmuch as there has been much abuse among the said delegates and their overseers in flogging the said Indians, more than if they were

slaves, it is ordered and commanded that the said Delegates, administrators or overseers, should not dare to flog any Indian, male or female, nor have them flogged, nor consent that other people flog them under the penalty that said Delegates be deprived of their positions and of \$500., to be paid into the Royal Exchequer; and if the person were poor, 100 lashes. Any person who should maltreat or offend an Indian should be punished with great severity and without pardon, following thus the decree of His Majesty, in which it is ordered that Spaniards and other persons who should maltreat, wound, kill, or offend the said Indians, be punished with the same chastisement, as if the crimes were committed against the Spaniards themselves." All these documents do honor to the Spanish monarchs who with such Christianity and nobility watched over the welfare and happiness of the natives of their conquests, as has not been the case among other sovereigns.

9. By this time, there was a fairly well organized hospital in Panamá, called the hospital of San Sebastián, which, as is the usual case with such institutions was initiated by some pious and charitable people who practiced this branch of Christian Charity. At first it was only a kind of asylum in which they harbored the sick poor, and where some matrons and young ladies went to attend them. Then, in view of the fact that the numbers of sick increased, and that the kind of diseases from which they suffered required the regular attendance of a physician and more assiduous attentions, a committee was formed and the necessary employees were named for the administration and care of the patients. Later, conditions being better and the hospital boasting of sufficient income, the Brother Hospitalers de San Juan de Dios were summoned to take charge of it.

10. The Illustrious Señor Carvajal encouraged greatly the work of the Cathedral, which his predecessors had already advanced constantly, and he was able to assign one part of the Church to the celebration of divine offices. He consecrated the church to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. At this time was also commenced the construction of the church of Santa Ana in which place there was only a chapel. The ruins of this church are the first which appear before the tourist on the left hand side on arriving at Old Panamá.

11. To Señor Carvajal is attributed the founding of the first seminary which existed in Ancient Panamá and which he

confided to the direction of the St. Augustin fathers. He dedicated it to this great doctor of the church and for this reason it was called the Seminary of Saint Augustin, having at the beginning only six students. To him is also attributed the blessing of the first bells which were placed in the tower of the Cathedral. He was promoted in 1612 to the Bishopric of Guamanga.

CHAPTER XIV

1. Friar Francisco de la Cámara, fourteenth Bishop of Panamá. Probabilities of a synod. Increase of the Ecclesiastical Council.
2. First attempt of the Canalization of the Isthmus. Refusal of the Council of the Indies.
3. Alarm of new invasion of pirates.
4. Uprising of the Indians of Darién. Farming and cultivation of the Spaniards in this region.
5. Earthquake.
6. Friar Gaspar Rodríguez y Valderas. Founding of Atalaya, San Francisco and San Lorenzo. An attempt at conversion of Indians of Darién.
7. The Illustrious Señor Fernando Arias de Ugarte.
8. His brilliant career.
9. He is named bishop of Panamá, but did not occupy the See because the King appointed him to the bishopric of Quito.

1. Friar Francisco de la Cámara succeeded the Illustrious Señor Carvajal. He was a Dominican who took charge of the diocese in 1614 and governed it for ten years. It is said that he called a synod in 1620 but we have no document whatsoever which mentions this. He added two scholarships in the Seminary of St. Augustin and donated four thousand pesos toward the construction of the Cathedral, the Council of which he increased by appointing two more members.

2. During his episcopal administration took place the first attempt to canalize the Isthmus through the gulf of San Miguel, following the course of the river Tuira as far as it was navigable by the vessels which at that time ploughed the seas. Those who made the topographical investigation of this part of the Isthmus were Dutch engineers who submitted their report to the Audiencia and the latter to the King. The project seemed easy and practicable, considering the small tract of land which would have to be excavated and the low draught of the ships then in use. In any case the enterprise would not have been impossible for Spain, who

would easily have accomplished it if considerations of politics had not interfered with the project. The Council of the Indies, to which the plan was submitted for consideration, was not in favor, alleging that the union of the two seas constituted a menace to the kingdom, that the security and power of Spain would be exposed by that canal, and that it was in no way practical to think of such a thing at least for the time being. King Philip II, on the other hand did not see much necessity for canalizing the Isthmus, and saw the great necessity of preserving his colonies in the new world. Warned by the repeated attacks of the pirates on the different possessions which he had in the new world on this continent, Philip thought that plundering should not be made easier for them by opening up a way through which they could more quickly and easily pass from one sea to the other. So, he not only accepted the opinion of the Council of the Indies, but he also issued a decree prohibiting under pain of death any attempt to build a canal across the Isthmus.

3. As the Spanish Colonies were already in a state of relative prosperity it was not strange that they should be visited frequently by the marauders of the sea. At this time was spread the alarm that another fleet of pirates was coming towards Panamá from the coast of the South Pacific. It was not definitely known to what nation the ships belonged but they were well justified in believing them to be English, for on the one hand those which had come up to that time had been English, and on the other, it was no longer a secret to anyone that England was tolerating and even encouraging that vile traffic. Fortunately the feared fleet did not appear in the bay and tranquility was restored to their minds.

4. However an alarm of a different kind came to disturb the peace of the inhabitants of the capital of the colony. This time it was not the cimarrones negroes but the Indians of Darién, the tribe of the buge-bugues, who in great number armed with their arrows, slings, lances and wooden broad swords fell upon some of the Spanish towns of the Darién, such as San Miguel of the Bayano, Corozal and Chepo and caused horrible butchery among the inhabitants, who in spite of the efforts which they made to repel the invasion, were forced to yield to numbers. Those who were not saved by flight were mercilessly killed. The Audiencia had sent forces to repress and restrain the savages, but either on account of their inferior number, or on account of the roughness of

the road they did not attain their object, sometimes being routed by the Indians, at others being trapped by their cunning and sagacity. The Indians emboldened by the good results that they had obtained up to that time, continued advancing through the hills of the coast in the direction of the capital. In this predicament help was immediately asked of Cartagena, whence was sent a strong reinforcement with which a new attack was made on the Indians defeating and putting them to flight but not conquering them. It is believed that the chief must have died in one of the struggles for the Indians retreated to the mountains and remained there tranquil.

5. The Spaniards had established several sawmills in different places of Darién, so rich in woods of all kinds; and they possessed much pasture-land for cattle, which there develops wonderfully, for the supply to the city and neighboring towns. Besides, they had in those fertile lands, great plantations of all kinds of grain, fruits, and vegetables, until they finally became the source of supply for the colony. All that was laid waste, destroyed and ruined by the Indians and such terror had they caused the colonists of that region that for many years it remained deserted and uninhabited. To these grave and direful calamities was added the earthquake of the 2 of May, 1620, in which several people were killed, various houses razed, and all churches and public buildings suffered severe injury.

6. The Illustrious Friar Francisco continued with zeal the evangelization of the Indians of the Province of Veraguas, among whose tribes the religious of St. Dominic worked with great success. Thanks to the apostolic and indefatigable zeal of Friar Pedro Gaspar Rodríguez y Valderas were founded the towns of Atalaya, San Francisco and San Lorenzo. There remained to be converted and organized the tribe of Guaimies which were obstinate in accepting the Gospel. The Fathers finally reached them and began their work of salvation. The Illustrious Señor de la Cámara likewise attempted to see if he could do something with the rebellious Indians of Darién, sending some Religious there to convert them; but they found them very ill disposed and they even ran the risk of being killed!! His efforts therefore were frustrated, in spite of the efficacious cooperation which the Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco gave him. This enterprise was reserved for his successor, the Illustrious Friar Cristóbal Martínez de Salas.

7. Allied with this date is the memory of an eminent personage who occupied a very brilliant and distinguished position in the ecclesiastical history of Colombia, Ecuador, and Chile. We speak of the Illustrious Señor Doctor Fernando Arias de Ugarte, illustrious son of Santafé de Bogotá, where he was born the 9th. of September, 1561, of a very distinguished family of high social position. Having finished his studies in the University of Salamanca, Spain, whither his virtuous and Christian parents had sent him at the age of sixteen years, he was employed in court as a lawyer of the Royal Council and then named Auditor General (Judge) of the army which went to the kingdom of Aragon. In this capacity he gave final proof of his eminent gifts, and when he returned to Madrid, he was selected for three magistracies but he refused. The king appointed him Judge of Panamá, and under this title he came to this city. We have been unable to ascertain how long he remained. From here he was moved to the Audiencia of Charcas, where the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco named him mayor of Potosí with the title of deputy, Captain General of that province, and surveyor of the mint and royal treasury. He rose soon to be judge and Royal Alcalde of the Court of Lima, and its viceroy, the Count of Monterrey, named him overseer of the mines of Huancavélica, which office he held for three years.

8. For a long time Señor Arias de Ugarte had been cherishing the thought of entering the ecclesiastical ministry, but the series of important employments and commissions which had been entrusted to him did not allow him to carry out his mission. When he was judge in Lima he resolved definitely to carry it out and with this in view wrote the Illustrious Señor Loboguerrero, Archbishop of Santafé, communicating to him his purpose and begging him to give him any position in the church of his country, where he wished to end his days. It is easy to conceive with what satisfaction and consolation the Illustrious Señor Loboguerrero received this request, and the pleasure with which he answered granting what was asked of him. But the king, to whom he also had to address himself, by virtue of the position which he held, did not accede to the request except on condition that he remain Judge of Lima. Señor Arias de Ugarte thought that he should accept at once, and went to Chile where he received Holy Orders from the hand of the Illustrious Friar Juan Pérez de Espinosa, having previously been appointed adviser and counsellor of war by the vice-

roy Marquis de Montes Claros and visiting judge of the tribunals of the Santa Cruzada of Charcas, Lima, Chile, Quito and Panamá by the king.

9. Such were the capability, activity and virtues which Señor Arias displayed in all the offices and duties entrusted to him, that he seemed to have no equal, judging from the manner in which these developed upon him; and if this happened in his civil career, in his ecclesiastical career, we have only to say that from a simple priest, shortly after his ordination, he was elevated to the episcopal dignity, for the king named him bishop of Panamá and then of Quito. When the bull and royal edicts for this last appointment were received he went to Lima where he was consecrated by Bishop Don Bartolomé Loboguerrero, who was already established in that church. His sponsor in this sacred ceremony was the viceroy Marquis de Montes Claros, who bore the expenses of a magnificent ceremony and presented him with a valuable pontifical outfit. The new bishop then went to his church in Quito and began the visit of his diocese; but he had not yet finished it when he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Santafé.

The above narration concerning the Illustrious Señor Arias Ugarte, we have taken from Groot's Ecclesiastical History, and since we have not the pleasure of placing him among the eminent bishops that have governed this diocese, we gladly include him among the number of those who were mentioned for it.

CHAPTER XV

1. Friar Cristóbal Martínez de Salas, fifteenth Bishop of Panamá. A building is erected for the Jesuits. He was promoted to the archbishopric of Santafé.
2. Subjugation of the Darién Indians. Julián Carrisolio de Alfaraz.
3. Friar Adriano de Santo Tomás. Founding of Pinogana, Yaviza and Tacarcuna.
4. Commercial importance of Portobelo and Panamá. Fairs at Portobelo.

1. Friar Cristóbal Martínez de Salas began to govern the diocese in 1625. The Jesuit Fathers, who as we have said above, had founded a house in Panamá about thirty years before had remained in it exercising their beneficent ministry. Because of the difficulties resulting from those times, the poverty consequent to the early colonization, and the uncertainty in which the frequent piratical invasions kept the capital of this kingdom of the Mainland, the Jesuits were poorly lodged in a typical building of those days, that is, walls of mud, thatched roof, and a tamped floor. The Illustrious Señor Salas esteeming and appreciating in their full value the important services which these exemplary and zealous missionaries gave in different phases of ecclesiastical ministry, decided to house them better, by constructing at his expense a building for the community, with all the accessories and conveniences then possible. This building was one of the many which later were the victims of a tremendous fire in Old Panamá.

2. This Bishop did a great deal in harmony with governor Enrique Henríquez de Sotomayor, to accomplish the subjection of the rebel Indians of Darién. Divine Providence came to their aid by affording them the necessary means of which they ably availed themselves. This was in the person of a young Spaniard by the name of Julián Carrisolio de Alfaraz, a survivor of a ship which traded along the San Blas coast and was captured by the Indians. The boy may have been about fourteen years old when he fell into their power and God alone knows why they did not kill him

as they had all his companions. The child continued to live with the savages, adopted their customs and learned their language. Not until the end of fifteen years was it learned in Panamá that among the Indians of Darién, there was a white man who spoke Spanish and had authority and influence among them. This aroused interest and it was not long before they discovered who the white Indian of Darién was. The Bishop as well as the Governor made use of him to obtain the subjugation of those tribes over whom "the españolito," thanks to his intelligence and strength of character, had acquired an almost absolute dominion. He brought them together, talked to them and succeeded in persuading them by certain promises to place themselves under the protection of the Spanish Government, and shortly after he came to Panamá with four chiefs to ratify the basis of the agreement. This happened in 1637.

3. Thereupon they proceeded to send religious to undertake the evangelizing of those clans, among them, a veteran in this kind of apostolic labor who had worked with much fruit and success in the Province of Veraguas, Friar Adriano de Santo Tomás, a religious of unparalleled zeal. To aid and support the work of the missionaries nothing was more natural and even necessary than to invest Carrisolio with authority over the Indians, and this was done by the Audiencia which named him governor and chief justice of Darién. The result of these measures and activities was the founding of the towns of San Enrique de Pinogana, San Jerónimo de Yaviza, and San Juan de Tacarcuna.

4. The fact that the Isthmus was the forced point of transit for the products which were sent to Spain from Chile, Perú, Ecuador, the General Captaincy of Guatemala and some points of southern Mexico situated on the Pacific, gave it a great importance of which the inhabitants of the two maritime cities of Panamá and Portobelo knew how to avail themselves. The latter town acquired a great development for those days, to so great an extent that it was selected as the place in which to celebrate the annual fairs which redounded in great benefit to the country. Its beautiful position on the bay facilitated the celebration of these fairs, which lasted between forty and sixty days. During this time the merchants from different places who attended them, devoted themselves to an active commerce, of materials, European goods,

grains of all kinds, mules, colts, cattle, sheep, and goats, gold, native products like sandals (alpargatas), hats, ponchos, nor were the peddlers with their baskets of trifles missing. Whoever has attended any one of the many fairs which in later years have continued to be held in all or almost all of the countries of Spanish America, can form an idea of what took place at those of Portobello, which on account of being the first were the most crowded. The authorities were forced to move to Portobello during the time of the said fairs in order to keep order and suppress abuse, for side by side with the merchandise, and on the very backs of the beasts to be sold, were also rum, strong chicha, the accessories of gambling and other elements and agents of disorder. The fair being over and the people having accomplished more or less what had brought them, they returned to their respective countries and settlements, and the town resumed its habitual tranquillity. The transactions made at those fairs reached the sum of a million pesos of eight reales each, which was then the current coin.

Friar Cristóbal Martínez de Salas, Premonstratensian Canon, was a native of Medina del Campo, Definitor of his Order, Abbot of the Convent of Segovia, Rector of the College of Santa Susana, and General Visitant of his Order. He was presented by Philip IV for the bishopric of Panamá and died blind in 1640, after a chronic illness.

CHAPTER XVI

1. Friar Hernando Ramírez, 16th. Bishop of Panamá. Great conflagration in the city. The Episcopal Palace and part of the Cathedral are burned.
2. The buildings destroyed by the flames are repaired and rebuilt. Description of the new Cathedral. The Jesuits open a College.
3. The Indians of Darién revolt again and destroy the Spanish possessions. The invasions of the pirates continue.
4. Invasion of Francisco L'Oleñais. He is killed by the Indians. Thanksgiving in the capital.

1. Father Hernando Ramírez was elected Bishop of Panamá in 1640, but did not take office until 1643. The great event in his day was another dreadful fire which took place February 21st., 1644, and which destroyed 83 houses, the seminary, the Episcopal Palace, the house of the Jesuit Fathers which had been built by the Illustrious Señor Friar Cristóbal Martínez de Salas, and a part of the Cathedral. It is difficult to give an idea of the panic and consternation which fell upon the town before that sea of fire which with terrifying velocity invaded the buildings and reduced them to cinders in a few minutes. All efforts to stem its progress were impotent; the elements were lacking to combat the terrible flames which in the manner of huge tongues of fire rose to a great height and swung over the neighboring buildings threatening to devour them. Without a doubt this is one of the greatest fires recorded in the history of the Colony. Unfortunately the tide was low at the hour of the catastrophe, so that the supply of water, brought from a great distance and in utensils relatively small in comparison to the grave necessity of the occasion, was extremely slow and inadequate. Everything seemed to conspire to make the destruction of the city complete. The conflagration following along the line of the houses where it had commenced, attacked the Episcopal Palace, for the safety of which the greatest efforts were made, in vain; it had the same fate as the other razed buildings.

Thence it passed to the Cathedral, which was adjoining, and then the consternation knew no bounds. The efforts to save the Palace and the other houses were abandoned, everybody hastening to remove everything possible from the sacred temple before the flames should destroy them. The Bishop, the canons, the secular and order priests accompanied by the greater part of the people rushed into the Church. The Host which was in the Tabernacle was consumed, and they began to throw out of the church what was considered of greatest value and importance, that is—the sacred vessels, the monstrances, the most precious ornaments, images, relics of much merit and value, etc. Finally it was prayer which put an end to this painful event, for seeing the impotence of the efforts to check the fierce element, the prelate and the clergy began to recite aloud the Litany of the Saints and other prayers—imploping divine help.

2. After the unfortunate event, naturally nothing was thought of, except to repair the ravages caused by the terrible fire. For some time certain privileges were granted the inhabitants of the city, exonerating them from certain duties, and contributions in order that they might attend to the reconstruction of their dwellings. His Grace the Bishop destined certain sums of the diocesan income, the Audiencia contributed others and the great piety of our ancestors added what was necessary for the reconstruction of the Episcopal Palace, as well as the Cathedral. The latter building resulted much better and finer than the one demolished by the flames and even today, we admire the beautiful and graceful tower which by means of thousands of photographs and post cards is made known throughout the world. The new Cathedral had three spacious naves, and ten large windows admitted the light into the interior of the Temple. The main chapel was decorated and painted in Italian style and encircled with various lamps and other articles, gifts of the piety of those Spaniards.

At the time of the Illustrious Señor Martínez, the Jesuits who up to then had been occupied with the missions, opened a college in the residence which they then had in Panamá.

3. The Indians of Darién no longer being under the government of Carrisolio, who very probably had died, for we have not found anything relating to him in the years following 1637, in which year they were subdued by his influence and good works.

carried away by their bloody and plundering instincts, they again revolted and fell upon the villages of the Darién and upon the plantations which the Spaniards had there, robbing them, laying them waste, burning them and killing any who fell into their hands. Forces were sent in vain to check them and conquer them; nothing was accomplished, on the contrary, the Indians irritated, increased their plunder and murder. The clergy had to flee in order not to be victims of that havoc, and the government judged it more advisable to suspend for the time being its persecution and wait for more suitable times when with better resources it could undertake a formal campaign against them. The region was therefore abandoned to them, since they gave no signs of advancing toward the capital as they had previously attempted. It is easy to conceive the grief experienced by the Illustrious Señor Ramírez on seeing ruined those missions which shortly before had been so prosperous and flourishing. Already for fifteen years these coasts had been the scene of pillage and crimes committed by the pirates from France and England, who appeared almost every year filling the peaceful inhabitants with fear and terror. At first there were fleets of caravels few in number and small in dimensions, but gradually they were increased in power to the point of becoming a real menace to the very existence of the towns, which after being sacked were burned. The historians who are of the opinion that this was a political measure adopted by France and England to destroy the power of Spain in America and to struggle for the booty, do not err. The expeditions of pirates were composed of men who were not only robbers but cruel and blood-thirsty, commanded by captains who had these same qualities in a superlative degree.

They were such soulless and fierce men that one can well apply to them the description which Voltaire made of them "Tigers endowed with reason." No wonder then, that when a colonist shouted "here comes a pirate ship," the whole population was filled with fear and all hastened to bury their money, jewels and other valuable possessions, in designated places.

4. At this time there appeared on the coast of San Blas, one of these villains, who had been the terror of Havana, Maracaibo and Guatemala.

He disembarked with a few hundred men and penetrated a little distance into the jungle to explore that territory. The In-

dians of Darién, who had sighted the ships which were approaching, believing that they were Spaniards coming to attack them gathered in great numbers armed with their arrows and wooden broadswords and awaited them hidden in different ambuscades.

When the chief thought the opportune moment had arrived, he gave the command of attack by starting the terrible outcry which at such times served them as a signal. The pirates were routed by the Indians and fighting hand to hand, there were few who escaped from the slaughter. The corpse of Francis L'Olenais, chief of the expedition, on being recognized by the Indians as the leader of the pirates on account of the special clothing he wore and by the number and quality of his weapons, was torn to pieces and thrown into a bonfire. When the news of this providential deed of the Indians was received in the city, thanks were given with a solemn religious ceremony, not to them who had acted rather in self-defense than in defense of the colonists, but to the Almighty who had used this means to free them from one of the most fearful pirates of the epoch.

Friar Hernando Ramírez belonged to the Order of the Holy Trinity, a native of Arroyo del Puerco, in the Bishopric of Coria; he studied Arts and Theology in Salamanca, was Vicar and Preacher of the Convent of Our Lady of Virtues, General Procurator of the Order at Court, Secretary of the Convents of Toledo, Fuente Santa, Alcalá and Talavera. Delegate and Visitant of the Provinces of Aragón, Cataluña and Valencia, Provincial and Vicar General in that of Castille. He died in the year 1652.

CHAPTER XVII

1. Don Bernardo de Izafirme, seventeenth Bishop of Panamá. Difficulties in the communications with the Mother Country.
2. The inroads of the pirates continue.
3. Noticeable growth of Panamá.
4. Zeal of Señor Izafirme to better customs. His death.

1. Don Bernardo de Izafirme, having been named Bishop of this diocese, took office in 1655. He was a Spaniard born in Toledo and from his tenderest years had shown a decided vocation for the ecclesiastical career. Adequately educated for this purpose and aided by the beautiful qualities with which heaven had favored him, he made himself renowned in the different positions in which his superiors placed him, by his recollection, his piety, his devotion to the faithful accomplishment of his duty and his extraordinary activity. These qualities induced the King to propose him for the mitre of Panamá, which was at that epoch the most important diocese of Tierra Firme and which needed a Prelate with special requirements. The difficult communication with the Mother Country was frequently the cause why many of the bishops named for the colonies of America, arrived at their dioceses two, three or more years after being named. We do not know the exact year in which the Illustrious Señor Izafirme was elected for the See of Panamá; all we know is that he did not reach his destination until 1655, we do not even know the month.

2. This prelate governed his diocese during a difficult time. Panamá and Portobelo, rich cities and among the most important possessed by the Spanish Crown in the New Continent, had become a prey coveted by the pirates. The danger increased from day to day in view of the frequency with which these places were visited by these buccaneers and the life of the colonists of both towns was one of continual alarm and anxiety.

Such a condition of affairs greatly benumbed the progress of the missions, and this must be the reason why during the episcopacy of the Illustrious Señor Izafirme we find nothing notable in this respect. Doubtless those already established continued working with sufficient fruit for the Church; but there remained still many Indian tribes to be converted, and this work had to be deferred until better times.

3. However, occasion presented itself for the Prelate to exercise his zeal in the city itself which by this time had acquired considerable proportions. If we are to believe Berthold Seeman, (*Historia de Panamá*) there were in it, seven thousand houses, two thousand of which were of excellent structure, with good paved streets; eight monasteries, seven for friars and one for nuns; two churches with beautiful altars, artistic and rich ornaments as well as sacred vessels of considerable value; a hospital, and numerous stables destined for the care of the beasts which carried the silver of the King to Cruces and Portobelo. Beautiful orchards embellished the suburbs of the city and numerous fishing boats continually sailed on the bay.

It was in fact a city commercial in the extreme, and as it was the seat of the colonial government as well as the See of the Bishop, both authorities maintained a force of employees which gave it much life and animation.

4. Bishop Señor de Izafirme devoted then to improving the habits of the people doing with them whatever his zeal prompted. Although in those privileged days faith was in all its splendor and little was necessary on the part of the pastors to lead their flock in the right path, still it is certain that humanity has been the same at all times, since man is inclined to evil from his youth. After the fairs at Portobelo, in which both cities took part, they returned to their normal state. They had little communication with the other towns of the Isthmus, which was accomplished by sea in unsafe boats. For this reason few came to the city and few went from the city to the provinces. This necessarily produced in many, idleness, which is the mother of all evil. We do not infer by this that in those days in which there was 90% morality among the inhabitants of Panamá, there were committed the deplorable and scandalous disorders which modern civilization has introduced in later times; but abuses were not wanting, which in the judgement of the prelate merited correction

and which did not harmonize well with the purity of customs which he wished to see reign among his faithful. It has always been an arduous and difficult task to suppress disorders and abuses for which are required wisdom, prudence, tact and a host of other requisites to make the correction efficacious. Therefore has it been said, with good reason, that it is better to prevent evils than to have to correct them. The Illustrious Izafirme possessed the qualities which such grave duties required and so, evil disappeared under his skillful and prudent guidance. When this prelate was transferred in 1660 to Cuzco, the See remained vacant for eight years, his successor having died before having been consecrated.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Don Diego de Vergara, 18th. Bishop of Panamá. He did not govern the diocese because he died before being consecrated.
2. Time of vacancy. Appearance of the pirate Mansvelt.
3. Governor Don Juan Pérez de Guzmán. Mansvelt retires.
4. Death of St. Peter Claver.

1. Although elected in 1660 to succeed Don Bernardo Izafirme, Don Diego de Vergara did not govern the diocese because he died before his consecration.

2. During the time of vacancy the Capitulary Vicar who governed the bishopric could do nothing to foment and increase the missions: on the contrary these men again faced danger because of the uprising of old Mansvelt, a terrible pirate who with 14 ships and 600 men, left Jamaica and attempted to take Natá. Although this city was also of much importance and great wealth during the time of the colony, it was not however as well known as Portobelo and Panamá; so it is not understood why this pirate should have preferred to direct this attack on it and not on the first of the above named cities, its position being well known, and access to it easy on account of its position on the Atlantic. Therefore we do not believe unfounded, the opinion of those who suppose that Mansvelt came with the intention of attacking Portobelo, but that he either lost his way, forced by the winds, for it must not be forgotten that steam navigation did not then exist, or on account of accidents which he may have suffered on the journey, he put in at the northern coast towards the mouth of the Río Coclé—whence he traveled into the interior, perhaps in search of Panamá, and came upon the city of Natá.

3. The Governor Don Juan Pérez de Guzmán on having news of the advance of Mansvelt sent troops in all haste to defend the city. All the precautions which the case required were taken, ambushes were prepared, the strategic position by which

the pirates might approach the city were occupied, and they lay in wait for him. When these preparations were discovered by Mansvelt's spies whom he had sent in advance as precaution against the Indians, and informed of the number of combatants, as well as having taken into consideration the circumstances of the territory in which he found himself, he resolved to give up the combat and retreat to the coast in order not to expose himself to a disaster. He reembarked with his troops and directed his course to the West. Later it was learned that he had disembarked on the coast of Costa Rica and sacked the city of Cartago.

4. A great event of which we wish to leave a record in this historical review because in a way it also interests the Panamá diocese, took place during the Vacancy between the episcopacy of the Illustrious Señores Don Hernando Ramírez and Don Bernardo de Izafirme. We refer to the death of the "Apostle of the Negroes", St. Peter Claver, which occurred in Cartagena, September 8, 1654. He was a native of Verdum of the principality of Cataluña, born in 1585, having entered the society of Jesus in 1607. He came to Cartagena in 1610 without having even received Sacred Orders, and from this city, the superior of the College sent him to the College of Santafé to finish his studies. Having completed these, he was sent to the novitiate of Tunja, and having terminated his novitiate, they sent him again from Tunja to Cartagena where the Bishop Don Friar Pedro de Vega ordained him on the 19th. of March, 1616. Here it was that Father Claver for the remainder of his life exercised the functions of an apostolate, as painful from a human standpoint as it was glorious in the eyes of the Divine. He undertook the catechising of the heathen negroes who in those days were imported from Africa for the work of the mines and plantations—a ministry which demanded all the abnegation, patience and charitable zeal of which only the heart of a Claver was capable.

These heathen and savage negroes arrived at Cartagena like cargo huddled in the ships, the healthy with the sick, the living with the dead, and in the midst of uncleanness which made the landing of these people unbearable to the sense of smell and sight of all except Claver, who at such time gave evidence of the zeal of his charity. As soon as a ship arrived bringing negroes he hastened to visit them, going under the hatchway among those galley slaves, desperadoes, starving and sick, breathing a pestilential

air corrupted by the fetidness of the filth and vapors of so many bodies, in a heat without sufficient ventilation, conditions sufficient to kill anyone not especially favored by Providence. Claver made himself understood to all of them by means of a negro interpreter who accompanied him, and showed them with the great kindliness that he came to protect and help them, at the same time distributing among them the provisions of foodstuff which he brought, and clothing to cover their nakedness.

He visited those who were ill, cleaning their wounds with his own hands, in a word, administering to them every aid; he assisted them until they had all disembarked. Immediately he baptized all the children, to which act the parents did not object, by the very reason of their savage character as well as of the respect and veneration which such virtue and love immediately inspired in them.

From the shore he took them to a house or hospital destined for this purpose, and there along with bodily cares, he began the spiritual one of Christianizing them, without losing a moment, because he knew that at the most unexpected time the buyers of slaves presented themselves and took them away to their plantations, where their only care was to profit by their work without teaching them aught of religion. This forced the missionary to make continual and difficult journeys in the scorching weather and sun of the coast, for he had to walk some hours of the day going to the plantations to instruct the principles of Faith to the negroes, who were taken from him before completing their Christianization. This was his daily work after having been busy all morning in the task of attending to the sick in the hospital, instructing the well and hearing the confessions of many. It was already dark when he returned from the country to his hospital work, and then he spent the greater part of the night in prayer and severe discipline. It can hardly be believed that a human body could endure so much work, adding besides, that his was covered in a rough hair cloth garment, which especially in those long walks in the midst of such heat must have caused him severe suffering and torment.

But it was not only the negroes who interested the charitable zeal of the holy missionary, but all the sick and the needy, nor did those in jail escape his care, whither he went to console and help all principally in Lent, administering to them spiritual

exercises. At this time he redoubled his work, because his whole ambition was that no one in town should fail to comply with the precept of the Church. At the fall of evening he went out into the streets with a little bell calling to confession and immediately he went into the confessional and did not leave it even at night while there was someone to hear, arranging it so that the women should go first, and the men after five o'clock in the afternoon. For those unable to walk he had chairs and peons who carried them to him.

His humility was such that he believed himself the most contemptible of men and it afflicted him that they should treat him with marks of consideration and respect. Nor could it be otherwise in such a saintly man, for no holiness can be found without humility, for this reason he did not even want to be a priest of the Society, only a mere coadjutor. Such was the idea he had of the sanctity necessary to receive Holy Orders. He was never seen to raise his eyes to look at a woman.

In 1650 the plenary Indulgence of the Holy Year reached Cartagena; and here it was that God's servant redoubled his work so that everyone should gain the indulgence. The task was not as hard in the city as it was in the farms and sugar mills, where he went to prepare souls with exhortations and confessions. So much work without a day of rest perforce had its natural effect on that body, wasted and extenuated with constant fasts and penance; he was attacked by an epileptic fit which completely overcame him. He could no longer walk, but he had himself taken in a chair to the homes of the sick to hear confessions of penitents and in the same manner he was carried to church to hear the confessions of all.

The sixth of September he had himself taken to the Church so that he might receive Holy Communion, and after his thanksgiving he ordered the negroes to take him into the sacristy. There also he gave thanks to his brother sacristan, his companion in his journeys to the country, and took leave of him as if he were leaving him forever. Then they took him up to his room, and having placed him on his miserable bed, he remained as if asleep—it was a strange lethargy from which he never regained consciousness. Instantly the news circulated through the City of Cartagena: "The saint has died, the saint has died!" At this outcry everyone hastened, and although an effort was made to

close the door, this was not possible against the multitude which crowded to see him and procure some relic, or to kiss his feet and hands. But those who drew near hesitated on seeing that he still lived, for he held the Crucifix in his hands and his sight remained fixed on the image of the Redeemer. On the 8th. in the morning he received Extreme Unction; it was the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, when he said he would die. The administering priests realizing that he was dying began to commend his spirit; but when they reached the prayers in which they implored the Blessed Virgin to aid him, brother Nicolás González, who was at the head of the bed, made a signal of silence saying that he had already died, for his countenance had suddenly changed. They all drew near to look at him and they saw his face as if he were in perfect health. The pallor and emaciation had disappeared and a celestial light seemed to shine on the features of the saint who, without agony, had delivered his soul into the hands of the Creator at nightfall on the 8th. of September of the year 1654, at the age of seventy, and after forty years of a penitent and laborious life in the apostolate of the negroes and the succor of the poor.

At the toll of the bell everyone came to see the saint, filled with deep sorrow, but at the same time with joy, because if they were to miss him here on earth all believed they would have in him a strong advocate in heaven. Oh! Almighty God! Can protestantism present a similar picture? No, because only to truth is it given to produce one. The congregation of priests of Cartagena came to ask for the body to place it in the church in a magnificent tomb prepared for it; and so it was done with great difficulty on account of the enormous crowd which blocked the way. The following day the Jesuits were to give him burial; but the Governor and Ecclesiastical council sent a commission not to move the body, in order that they might give it solemn funeral rites; and that if it were not left a longer time in state so that all the people might see him, a tumult might result, for all prayed that they might be allowed to venerate him. They had to consent to it and it was necessary to place guards at the door of the church to avoid confusion. After the rites of the Society, followed those of the two authorities, during which Father Manuel Bretón, Mercedario and Provincial of Charcas, preached. When the sermon was finished the ecclesiastical, civil, and milita-

ry authorities took the body to the Chapel of El Santo Cristo de la Expiración and they placed it in a vault in a handsome casket,—the body did not show the least signs of corruption after being exposed so many days in a church filled with lights and people, and in a temperature where even flesh meat cannot be kept from one day to another without corruption.

God made known the sanctity of his servant granting him the gift of working miracles in life as well as in death. Many and very great miracles appear in the canonization, conclusively proved with all the requisites and formalities required by the case. The city of Cartagena witnessed the greatest miracles and they may be read in the process of canonization and in the life of the saint written in detail by Padre Cassani.

The city of Cartagena bore the expenses, a few days later, of solemn rites for the soul of the sainted apostle and beloved benefactor, in which Padre José of the Circuncisión, Prior of the Candelario Fathers, preached the funeral or rather the triumphal oration. At the conclusion of this ceremony the Governor Don Pedro Zapata announced another at his own expense—it took place the following day, and Friar José Pacheco, General Visitant and Procurator of the Barefoot Augustinians, preached the sermon.

All these ceremonies were attended by crowds of negroes to whom their owners had given necessary permission, and they shed incessant tears, for "Their Father" as they called him, and they grieved still more to see that in their poverty they did not have the means with which to show him further homage, but Oh! The power of love and gratitude. Oh! Might of Christian virtue, which the poor afflicted negroes displayed, who begging alms were able to collect sufficient to do him honor, and making it a duty, they scattered themselves through streets and fields imploring and beseeching more by their tears and sobs than by words. And who would not extend a hand for such a purpose, and with solicitors of such circumstances?

This resulted in honors more solemn than all the others. Dr. Gregorio Mellín, who was going to Popayán with the dignity of Treasurer of the Cathedral of that city, voluntarily undertook the sermon. (Groot, *Historia de Nueva Granada*).



OLD PANAMA—View of the destroyed Cathedral tower, and part of the beach.

CHAPTER XIX

1. Don Sancho Pardo de Figueroa, 19th. Bishop of Panamá. State of intranquility.
2. Don Agustín de Bracamonte and his struggle with the filibusterers in Veraguas. Henry Morgan.
3. Attack on the Forts at Portobelo. The capture of the city. Morgan withdraws with 100,000 pesos.
4. Another invasion of Morgan.
5. Frightful battle at Chagres. Joseph Brodley, Morgan's captain, captures Fort San Lorenzo, but loses his life in the struggle.
6. Morgan goes up the Chagres River. Difficulties of the enterprise.
7. Battle of Matasnillo. Defeat of the Spaniards.
8. Battle in the city. It is taken by Morgan.
9. The inhabitants flee. A fire.
10. Pursuit of the fugitive colonists. Enormous booty carried away by Morgan.

1. The Illustrious Sr. Don Sancho Pardo de Figueroa, who in 1667 succeeded the Illustrious Sr. Don Bernardo de Iza-firme in the government of the diocese (because of the death before consecration of Don Diego de Vergara who was to have been the next successor), arrived on the Isthmus at a very troublesome time for the colonies, due to the frequent piratical invasions. His episcopacy was consequently one of fears and anxieties, and of no less sufferings occasioned by these calamities. As a result nothing could be done toward the conversion of the Indians. Tierra Firme was in a state of perpetual alarm, on the one hand, for fear of a revolt among the savages, and on the other the appearance of the filibusterers' fleet, made life very disturbed. The men lived armed, keeping their weapons in their houses, ready for summons at the first sign of any danger, which generally occurred at night for that was the time chosen by the bandits to surprise the towns.

2. In the very year when Rev. Sr. Pardo arrived in Panamá, the city was in a state of indescribable anxiety. The gov-

ernor at the time, was Don Agustín de Bracamonte, who had first sustained grievous struggles in the coast of Veraguas, with the filibusterers, Pedro de Picardia and Moisés Vandlein, and in which unfortunately he had not been very successful. The towns situated on the Atlantic coast in the Province of Veraguas were ruined by those pirates. At this time the terrifying news reached the city, that another frightful filibusterer, already too well known by his reputation, as extremely cruel and rapacious, worthy emulator of the tyrant Aguirre, who devastated the coasts of Colombia and Venezuela, was contemplating an assault on Portobelo and Panamá. Henry Morgan was the man who had become the terror of those regions. He was an Englishman and from his earliest years, on account of his ungovernable, insubordinate and haughty character had given proofs of what he would be when he reached manhood. Not wishing to submit to the authority of his parents, he fled from his home and began a life worthy in every detail of a consummate bandit. After a series of criminal episodes in Europe and Africa, he enlisted in the gang of robbers brought by Mansvelt. At the death of this assassin, no one more suitable could be found to replace the former and continue leading this band of evildoers. This was the man whose name alone filled the colonists with terror and fright and who it was known with certainty, would appear on the Atlantic coast.

3. In June, 1668, he actually appeared in the Bay of Portobelo with a fleet of 9 caravels in which he brought 460 well armed men. The Spanish government had already constructed the two forts which defended the city situated at the end of the bay. Consequently the first attack was made against the forts, which in spite of the valor of the defenders were obliged to yield to the number of their attackers, and to the superiority of their projectiles. The fort of Santiago de la Gloria was shot to pieces by cannon; the defenders transferred to the fort of St. Jerome, where they fortified themselves and offered strong resistance. Morgan, who had already captured the city, redoubled the attacks by land, using ladders to assault the forts, which he succeeded in doing after many difficulties and at the cost of many victims. Thereupon ensued a hand to hand combat between the besiegers and the besieged, resulting in the death of the Governor of the city and the brave ones who accompanied him. Morgan then became master of the fort. Bracamonte tried to regain it

by mustering a few troops to attack it; but on account of the small number of troops, and the inadequacy of their means of defense, he desisted from his purpose, and he contented himself with threatening the pirates, suggesting that he evacuate the stronghold. Morgan arrogantly replied, that he would not do so, until the sum of 100,000 pesos was delivered to him; and in turn he threatened Bracamonte, sending him one of his pistols, with the message that he himself would come to reclaim it. In order to avoid greater bloodshed and the loss of more lives, which were necessary for the colony, it was agreed to pay to the pirate the sum exacted, and thus ended Morgan's first invasion.

4. Not much time elapsed before new fears, more alarming, came to disturb the peace of Portobelo as well as of Panamá. Morgan encouraged by the success of the first expedition reappeared in December of 1670 with a much larger squadron, for he brought 37 ships, manned with 2,000; the whole, a well equipped army. Already Spain had made claim to England against the repeated abuses of her subjects, and a treaty had been signed by the two nations, to put a stop to piracy; either because these unscrupulous ones were ignorant of the treaty, or because they did not wish to respect it, or finally because England assumed an attitude of ignorance of the events, in spite of the treaty, the fact is that the pirate Morgan returned to the coast of Tierra Firme with greater strength and worse designs.

5. Judging from the maneuvers of his troops Morgan's plan was not to attack Panamá immediately, for this time he spared Portobelo not expecting plunder in that city which he had sacked only two years before. He divided his forces into two sections; the larger of these under his command, directed itself to the Island of Santa Catalina where he expected great spoils; and the smaller detachment composed of 5 ships and four hundred men he placed under the command of Capt. José Brodley so that with it he might capture Ft. San Lorenzo, situated at the mouth of the Río Chagres, and thus would be opened a way to the capital by going up stream. This was done. Brodley frustrating the vigilance of the advanced Spanish troops brought his ships as near as possible to the mouth of the river and the vicinity of the fort in the darkness of night. Silently he disembarked his troops and attacked it by land. The Spaniards numbering 300 who defended it resisted valiantly the repeated and daring

attacks of the pirate, who already despairing of its capture conceived the idea of throwing burning torches on the thatched houses which served as shelters for the Spaniards within the walls of the fort. When these caught fire, and when some of the soldiers were occupied in quelling the fire by blows of their carabines, for although they were on the shores of the sea and river, they were not able to go for water, for fear of opening a breach for the enemy, the soldiers were forced to abandon positions on the walls; Brodley noting this, redoubled his attack at these points until he succeeded in breaking into the fort. There was reenacted the same scene as that which had occurred in the Fort of San Gerónimo de Portobelo two years before. A desperate man to man struggle ensued, the defender of the fort, Pedro de Elizalde y Ulloa and a great number of valiant Spaniards perished in it. The pirate also lost 175 men, and he himself died a few hours after the capture of the fort, in consequence of the wounds received in battle. When Morgan returned from the Island of Sta. Catalina, he found the fort in the hands of his men, and the English flag flying on one of its turrets; but he paid dearly for his prize, for he lost his best captain and a great number of soldiers.

6. After resting some days, sure that the Spaniards would not come to attack him there, and in the meantime having made the necessary preparations for the transportation of the troops with their munitions and foodstuffs, he began with difficulty to ascend the river on bongos and cayucos built for this purpose. The slowness of the boats which were moved by poles, delayed the ascent, the provisions began to diminish and they were almost exhausted when they arrived at Cruces, seven days after having left the town of Chagres. The pirates hoped to find in this midway town, at least some foodstuffs to replenish their stock; but what was their surprise to find a town, deserted by the inhabitants and reduced to ashes. However, Morgan continued advancing along the beautiful trail which united this river town with the capital, not without suffering loss of men in various encounters which he had with the Spanish outposts hidden in the jungle. It took two days to cover the short distance between Cruces and the capital keeping a sharp lookout lest he fall into an ambush. From the summit of a hill, situated at a relatively short distance from the city, he succeeded in viewing

its position, as well as the beautiful bay upon whose shores extended the noble and heroic capital of "Tierra Firme." The view of this emporium of riches did nothing more than incite his unbounded greed. He called together his soldiers to behold the coveted prize before them, and to become animated for battle.

7. Supposing, and not without reason, that the city must be prepared and ready to repel the attack, he sent some spies to investigate the surroundings cautiously and report to him what they had seen. These returned with the information that no attack should be attempted on the Cruces highway, because the Spaniards were situated there with their forces and artillery; that on one side which they pointed out with their hands the invasion was easier and surer, for there were no troops whatsoever. In fact President Don Juan Pérez de Guzmán erroneously thought that the city could only be attacked from the Cruces Highway, or at least that the pirates would come in that direction, and he posted all his forces at that point, leaving the surrounding country undefended, believing them sufficiently protected by thick woods and heavy jungle; but Morgan, better advised, crossed in silence during the night through the jungle and took up his position on the banks of the little river Matasnillo, quite near to the city, where he started his guerrilla warfare. The Spaniards upon becoming aware of the movements changed their positions, but it was too late. Nevertheless they opened fire upon the enemy fighting with the usual valor of Spaniards. For three hours the battle was undecisive, because the filibusterers favored by the magnificent positions which they had taken resisted firmly the repeated attack of the colonists and made great depletions in their ranks. The General in command, Don Juan Pérez de Guzmán, perceiving the tenacity of the invaders as well as the large numbers of the combatants while he was suffering great losses among his troops feared that the final outcome would be fatal to the Spanish troops. He went through his lines encouraging his soldiers and exhorting them to fight with valor for their king. Morgan on seeing the Spanish army already quite weakened and realizing by their maneuvers that they were about to slacken, in his turn undertook the offensive vigorously, succeeding in disbanding them and finally obtaining a complete defeat. The colonists abandoned the battlefield leaving on it 600 dead and wounded. Here are the words of Bertholdo See-

man describing the battle of Matasnillo: "The battle was fearful. One side fought to obtain the rich golden treasures for which the country was always famed, and which had always been the envy of foreigners; the other fought in defense of its houses, wives, daughters, their cherished possessions. The Panamans evinced a heroism superior to that of the ancient Spartans; but although the ravages made by their bullets were considerable, the number of the invaders was great and undiminishing; on the contrary it seemed as though their ranks increased as those of the Spanish diminished. Finally after three hours of bloody combat, the Panamans were conquered and the victors proudly entered into the Copa de Oro (Golden Goblet) the object of their sleeplessness and fatigue."

8. Pérez de Guzmán rapidly mustered the remains of his army and concentrated in the city. He posted pickets in the principal streets and he stationed others in the houses that they might fire through the windows and skylights, for the enemy had also reorganized itself speedily and was marching upon it. Morgan had lost only about 200 men in the battle of Matasnillo, so that he was still powerful. He well realized the new kind of combat that he was about to undertake in the streets of the city, and in which he would be worsted because the Spaniards were entrenched in the houses; but he did not hesitate when he saw that they were few in number and that they had no munition. In spite of everything the struggle was fierce, and only at the expense of much blood and many victims was the pirate enabled to capture the city.

9. He commenced to organize barracks in which to shelter his troops, when a fire started in the vicinity in which the powder was stored. This reveals that it was not Morgan, as some historians have supposed, who provoked it and started it in order to destroy the city which he had not even yet had time to sack, but the Commanding General, who, upon abandoning it with the inhabitants who were fleeing for various places in the interior, purported to blow up the powder deposit in order that the pirates might not avail themselves of it, even though in consequence of this precaution, the city would be partly destroyed. Morgan made every possible effort to quell the fire in order not to lose the booty which he hoped to find in the houses, and he succeeded in doing so, after a desperate struggle of his soldiers with

the fierce elements. Nevertheless a great many houses, which for the most part were of wood and quincha (clay and canes) were burned with all their contents.

10. Morgan gave the order to sack the city; and the soldiers, skillful and expert at this practice, invaded all the streets and the few houses which had escaped the flames. Great was the surprise and disappointment of the pirates on seeing how little or near to nothing they found, for the inhabitants on fleeing had either taken with them their valuable possessions, or left them buried in places unknown to the invaders. They entered the churches obtaining the same results, the sacred Vessels and ornaments had been taken in time by the priests and religious and placed them out of reach of the vandals. Having discovered the places whither the inhabitants had taken refuge, they prepared to follow them thither, and despoil them of whatever they might find in their possession. They undertook then a new campaign, scattering in parties of sufficient number of men, each in command of an officer through the coast, islands, and neighboring towns. They were not mistaken: The colonists had not time to go very far and a great many of them did not imagine that it would occur to the pirates to pursue them. They were then overtaken and surprised, as well as despoiled of whatever they had carried away, after having been cruelly maltreated. Suspecting those upon whom they did not find anything of value of having buried treasures, they took them prisoners in order to force them in this manner to pay their ransom. They also took with them many negro slaves to fill up the gaps in their ranks which had been made in previous combats. Messrs. Arce and Sosa to whom we are indebted for part of this chronicle, say that the invaders obtained a lot of gold, silver and precious stones, enough to load 195 mules. Morgan abandoned the ruined city on the 24th. of February and it was not until the 10th. of the following March that he re-embarked at Chagres, with Jamaica for destination. Of so bountiful and rich a booty only 16 pounds sterling were given to each soldier.

CHAPTER XX

1. Don Antonio de León, 20th. Bishop of Panamá. Lamentable condition of the colony. Attempt is made to change the location of the city. Commissions are sent to explore the coast. The port of Ancón is chosen. Geographic position of new Panamá.
2. Royal decree authorizing the founding.
3. Preparation of the ground. The day of inauguration is selected.
4. The civil, military and ecclesiastical authorities move to the site of the new city.
5. The act of the foundation of New Panamá.
6. Construction of the Walls.
7. The Illustrious Señor Don Antonio de León is named Captain General.
8. New invasions of the pirates.

1. On account of the death of Don Sancho Pardo de Figueroa, the illustrious Sr. Don Antonio de León came to occupy the See of Panamá, probably in 1671—following upon the destruction of the city by Morgan. It is probable that he came in the company of Don Antonio Fernández de Córdoba y Mendoza who arrived in that year with orders from the king to rebuild the city, either in the same place, or in any other that he might deem suitable. Easy it is to imagine the impression received by the new prelate, when he arrived at his new diocese and found it in such a lamentable condition. The inhabitants who had escaped death, imprisonment, and the persecution of the marauders, had returned to the site of the ruins and had there established themselves, temporarily awaiting the definite decision anent the transferring of the capital to another place, safer and more healthful. The barbarous attack of Morgan had made everyone realize that the place chosen by Pedrarias for the capital of the colony did not offer the necessary guarantee of defense and security. After the authorities and the Bishop had conferred among themselves, and had heard the opinions of the canons and

other notable personages, it was resolved to send commissions under the direction of experts, to explore the eastern as well as the western coast, in search of a suitable place which would unite the greatest number of desirable conditions for the founding of a new city. The Governor himself went out with one of these parties and explored a large tract of land in which he found various places, which in his judgement might be selected. It was necessary, however, to await the return of the other parties in order to hear their different opinions and proceed with accuracy into the selection of the site. After some time the parties who had gone into the interior returned, some by land, others by sea, and the deciding conference took place. After listening calmly and with great interest to the report of each one, it was agreed upon to adopt a location not very far from the ruins, visited by the Governor himself, and already quite well known by many of those present, because they had touched at it, on various occasions in their ships. It was called the "Port of Ancón", about five miles to the southwest of the ruins. Its geographical position which is the same as that of the city of today, is $51^{\circ} 51' 46''$ Long. West, and $8^{\circ} 50' 40''$ Lat. However, before placing the seal on the deliberations, and definitely fixing the site, they agreed that they should all go together to the place in order to make a final inspection, especially since it was so near. The result of this plan was that they all agreed that New Panamá should be built there.

2. As the principal reason for transferring the city, was to insure themselves against future attacks of the pirates, attention was given in the choice of the new preferred site to the advantage offered in this respect. They prepared to erect a military city, rather than a commercial and pleasure city. Let this serve as an explanation to those who criticize the erection of the new city in the present site, arguing that it was a poor selection on account of the lack of water and the topographical accidents of the place. In order to carry out the transfer, the king's approval was necessary, this was immediately sought, forwarding to him the corresponding plans and reports. The new Governor Don Antonio Fernández de Córdova y Mendoza brought the necessary royal authority to carry it out.

3. The place chosen for the foundation had to be cleared, leveled, and prepared as far as possible for the object intended.

The Governor commenced this work without delay; but for all his endeavor to hasten it, he required three years to carry it out. The plans having been made by the engineers Juan de Betin and Bernardo Ceballos, Saturday, 21st. of January, 1673, was chosen for the solemn inauguration of the new capital of Tierra Firme, to which the same name was given as that of the city about to be abandoned. The above mentioned date was duly announced by a town crier, that the people might come to be present at the ceremony, and to visit the districts and streets chosen for the construction of the houses. It was a sight to behold on the morning of January 21st. the enthusiasm and joy which prevailed among those poor inhabitants who during a period of three years, more or less, had lived in huts, tents and brush shelters, awaiting the happy day in which they might set up definite residences. The fact that the chosen spot was not very far from that in which they were, increased their joy. The authorities had taken the precaution to open a land route, with the foresight that they would not all be able to go by sea in their crafts, and having in view the fact that the beach between the old and the new Panamá was not all sand, but broken by stretches of hard and craggy rocks.

4. At dawn on January 21st. lights were seen to shine in the different homes giving evidence that the inmates had already risen; the stirring of mules and conveyances indicated the pending preparations, for although at that time they were going merely to look over the site, it was however an all day affair, for they were obliged to go five miles each way, and moreover the selection of sites for churches and public buildings, together with the planned solemnity could not be accomplished in a short time. Early in the morning all the royal officials, civil as well as military, dressed in gala attire, bearing the royal standard, the Prelate with the Canons and the members of secular and order clergy; and all the men and women, transporting on beasts and in baskets the provisions for one day, betook themselves to the future Panamá. When they had arrived at the place and rested a while, the ceremony commenced. His Grace, the Bishop Don Antonio de León ordered to have marked with crosses, the sites chosen for the Cathedral and the other churches, as well as the cemeteries which according to the custom of those days had to be adjoining them; he blessed the site of the Cathedral and the cemetery, the same being done in be-

half of the religious, with the places assigned their respective orders. The sites also were marked which were to be occupied by the royal offices, the Episcopal Palace, the Palace of the Audiencia, the Government Building, the Custom House, etc., and lastly the squares destined for private residences were laid out, reserving the assignment of same for a later date. Covering all of this a record of proceedings was drawn up before the notary of the king, Don Juan Aranda Grimaldo, and all those who exercised civil, as well as ecclesiastical authority signed it.

There follows the record of proceedings, which we quote preserving the orthography of the times, and which we have taken from a copy submitted to us by the Oficina Municipal.

5

TESTIMONY

of the delineation of the New City, the assigning of the Cathedral and Plaza.

1, Juan Aranda Grimaldo, notary of the king and public notary to the Indias, certify and attest by these presents, that today, Saturday, the twenty-first day of January, the feast of St. Agnes, Virgin and Martyr, of the current year of 1673, being present at this site of the bay where the new city is being founded, the Ill. Señor Don Antonio Fernández de Córdova y Mendoza, knight of the military order of Saint James, General of the Supreme War Council, President of the Royal Audiencia of the said city, Governor and Commander-in-chief of this royal dominion of Tierra Firme, Province of Veragua, and the Ill. Señor Dr. Don Antonio de León of the Council of his majesty and his chosen Bishop of said city and dominion, the Licenciado Don Sebastián Alfonso de Velasco, assisting, oldest lawyer in the fiscal court of his majesty in said city. The M.R.P. priest Friar Martín de Prado of the order of Saint Francis, Doctor Don Alfonso de los Ríos, Cavallero of the military order of Calatraba, Captain Nicolás Navarro, the ensign Juan de Isassé, and many other people who were present. Said president, governor, and general, stood at the principal point of the site, attended by many reserve officers, who by order of his lordship were locating and marking off the streets with the military engineer, and formed the principal plaza, of fourteen lumbres in a square making seventy, and later he pointed out the said Plaza Principal to the east, the Cathedral with thirty yards frontage and with the necessary depth for the cemetery, and for its embellishment; and the requirement of the said Bishop revested according to the Roman Ritual, with the assistance of the Licenciado Don Luis Delgado Ossorio, Dean, and Don Ma-

nuel de Quiñones Ossorio, Canon of this Cathedral, Judge and Vicar General of this bishopric, general apostolic delegate, sub-delegated from the holy Crusades, blessed the spot and cemetery and with all due solemnity placed a large cross in it and others in the center of the Plaza, the principal center of said new city; the aforesaid President ordered me, the present notary to testify and bear witness and on this occasion his lordship, in the presence of those herein above mentioned, that he had already prepared and marked the site for the convent of the religious of the Pure and Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and Captain Juan Hidalgo Balceda steward of the convent being present, requested me to record how on said spot, there was a quantity of heavy timber and rough hewn lumber which he showed me; and I saw in the port a frigate which had just arrived or was anchored, which had come loaded with lumber to begin the building, and he said that there were seventy of these logs, and having seen the said heavy timber and logs, and the arrival of said frigate which brought said pillars, I the notary and one other testify, as stated by the above mentioned steward, and gentlemen, that it was for the purpose of beginning the building of said Convent of the Concepción so that for all times it may be recorded, as a mandate of the Governor and Commander-in-chief I have set this down in the new City of Panamá of said site of Ancón on the twenty-first of January of the year 1673, being witnesses all those hereinabove mentioned and a great number of people who were present. And therefore I sign it in testimony of the truth.

JUAN DE ARANDA GRIMALDO,

Notary of his majesty.

This agrees with the original in the Cabildo building to which I refer and so that it may be evidence of the petition of the licentiate Don Sebastián Alfonso de Velasco, the oldest lawyer of the Real Audiencia of this city and Attorney General of his Majesty ad interim. I testify this in Panamá on the twelfth of May in the year 1673. In faith whereof I set my seal and signature. In testimony of the truth. (Here is a seal.)

DIEGO AGUSTIN DE URRUTIA,

Notary of his Majesty, of the Cabildo and public.
(Here is a rubric.)

We testify that Diego Agustín de Urrutia by whom this document is signed and sealed is the said notary of his Majesty and deputy of the Cabildo and public of this city, as he signs himself and to his testimonies and documents and other despatches which have passed and pass before said notary are

given entire faith and credit in judgement and in Panamá on the thirteenth day of May, 1673.

JUAN DE LEGUIZAMO, Notary Public.
GASPAR DE ZUÑIGA, Notary of his Majesty.
JUAN LOPES MOTOS, Notary of his Majesty.
Each with its rubric.

This is an authentic copy of the original document which exists in the General Archives of the Indies.
Case 69—Drawer 2—Packet 35.

PEDRO TORRES LANZAS.
Chief of Archives,
Sevilla, 20th. of November, 1905.

6. Without delay the works of defense of the new city were started, the construction of the famous wall, which even in our day is a source of admiration to the travellers and tourists who visit the city. There arose from place to place magnificent turrets which the negligence of later times has allowed to fall into ruins. One still remains in the promenade called "Las Bovedas" as a reminder of that glory which has passed forever. Here is what one of the available documents say, regarding the fortifications of New Panamá: "The celebrated engineer Don Alonzo de Villacorta constructed a stronghold which has no equal in all of South America, unless it be in that of Cartagena de Indias. He surrounded it with strong walls several meters in width. The uneven and rugged ground which was thus encompassed was filled immediately making the ground of the city flat and level, at an elevation of more than twenty feet; there were erected at each extreme of the front facing the Pacific, two colossal bulwarks of defense; for these reasons there was a time in which to attack this stronghold would have been a most hazardous and serious enterprise."

7. Governor Don Antonio Fernández de Córdova y Mendoza, having died on April eighth 1673, authority by law fell temporarily upon the judges of the Real Audiencia, until the Viceroy of Perú, Conde de Castelar, provisionally named the Ill. Sr. Don Antonio de León, Governor and Captain of the Dominion of Tierra Firme; under his administration were started the fortifications of the city, the famous architect, Don Alonzo Mercado de Villacorta being appointed chief engineer.

During the episcopacy of Rev. Sr. Don Antonio de León, the

piratical invasions upon *Tierra Firme* continued; however the transfer of the city to a less accessible point, and the fact that a large part of the seawall was already constructed, made the pirates more wary and timorous; they did not dare to attack the capital, but aimed their onslaughts at towns unfortified and unprotected by military defense. Chepo was one of the towns where the French filibusterer Lassonde tried to effect a landing and which attempt Capt. Alonso de Alcaudete prevented. Later in 1678 it was again attacked by another French pirate, Bournanot, aided by the Darién Indians who continued hostile to the Spanish government. The following year Lassonde appeared again in Portobelo, but he accomplished nothing else. The English pirate, John Coxen, who also attempted to sack it after Lassonde, had no better results. He then crossed the Isthmus guided and aided by the perverse Indians of Darién and took possession of *El Real de Santa María*; from there he went down the river Tuira in canoes and made his way to the archipelago of Pearls where he took possession of some Spanish sailing vessels with which he came to attack Panamá. When he arrived at the beautiful bay in the vertex of which the city was being constructed, he had to contend with three Spanish frigates which at the time were anchored there, and which upon recognizing him, opened fire on his vessels. A fierce and bloody combat was started, which although resulting in favor of the filibusterer, did not however permit him to disembark in the city. The fortifications filled them with terror and they resolved to direct their course southward, not without gaining possession of some vessels which were anchored in the neighborhood of the island of Perico. They stopped a few days at the island of Taboga to renew their provisions which they violently pillaged from the inhabitants; and some months afterwards it was known that they had put in at Remedios where they met with the heroic resistance of the colonists, the marauder, Ricardo Hawkins, leader of the expedition perishing in the assault.

The Rev. Sr. Don Antonio de León was promoted in 1677 to the bishopric of Trujillo in Perú.

CHAPTER XXI

1. Don Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita twenty-first bishop of Panamá. His studies and Ordination.
2. His rivals.
3. He is accused before the king.
4. He is named Capitulary Vicar. Important Edicts of his episcopacy.
5. He is named bishop of Santa Marta. His Consecration in Cartagena.
6. Invasion of pirates at Santa Marta.
7. Sacking of the city. Reverend Piedrahita is taken prisoner to Providence Island.
8. Morgan treats him well.
9. Arrives at Panamá. His zeal and his death.

1. Next in succession was Monsignor Doctor Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, if not the most illustrious, at least one of the most illustrious bishops who occupied the See of Panamá. He was a native of Santafé de Bogotá where he was born in 1624. From childhood he gave evidences of the clear and powerful intelligence with which the Supreme Giver of all gifts had endowed him. Educated by his Christian parents with the greatest care in virtues as well as in letters, he pursued his studies in the excellent colleges then in Bogotá, the thoroughness of which to a certain point, made it unnecessary to send young men to Spain. He was a student at the Seminary of San Bartolomé where he displayed his splendid talents, especially for oratory and poetry. Added to these natural gifts he had a genial disposition which made his personality attractive. Feeling himself drawn to the ministry he undertook the study of the ecclesiastical sciences, in addition to the other studies he had pursued, which made him one of the most learned men of the epoch. He was graduated a Doctor in the Jesuit Academy. When he was ordained priest he consecrated himself with great zeal and diligence to the exercise of his ministry in the various important and delicate positions in which his superior placed him, giving proofs in all of them, of uncommon prudence and intelligence, as well as of shining virtues. Rev. Piedrahita was in charge

of the parishes of Fusagasugá and Paipa, and his excellent qualities induced the illustrious Archbishop Friar Cristóbal de Torres to name him prebendary Canon of the metropolitan choir, and his Chancellor general. Later he elevated him to the dignity of chantor of the Cathedral. At the death of Sr. Torres he was elected capitulary vicar to govern the archbishopric during the vacancy which lasted from 1654 to 1661; and when the new bishop Friar Juan de Arguimao came to govern he named him Vicar General, assigning him to receive the Pallium from his hands by concession of the Holy See. It is told that when he received the Pallium, Dr. Piedrahita presented the Bishop with a rich pectoral cross of emeralds which the prelate used during the ceremony and afterwards returned to him saying: "Keep this pectoral cross which I trust in God will serve you on the day of your consecration." Prophetic words which were realized a few years later.

2. As a man of merit he had envious rivals, who in order to interrupt the brilliant ecclesiastical career which he had made for himself, or rather because they could not endure the admiration all bestowed upon him as a sacred orator, (for Sr. Piedrahita in the opinion of all was the first orator of the bishopric), intrigued at the time of the visit of Dr. Cornejo, that one of the judges (oidores) frame up an accusation, under guise of an investigation, and without heeding the censure which he incurred, he commenced by flattering the visitant. Señor Piedrahita claimed ecclesiastical privileges, and pronounced spiritual censure, demanding that the judge give up the documents referring to the case, and the latter was forced to do so, for he was a judge unauthorized to deal with ecclesiastical trials. The religious orders upheld Sr. Piedrahita defending ecclesiastical privileges in conferences as well as in the pulpit, and because of it some of the religious became the target of persecution. The Dominican Fathers, Marcos de Betancur, Carlos Melgarejo and José Miranda distinguished themselves especially among them.

3. The visitant Father informed the Council of the Indies in such vehement terms of this affair, that the king ordered the Vicar General Don Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, the Prebendary Canon, Don Cristóbal de Araque and the Provisional Father of the Society, Gaspar de Cujia, to appear in court. All three appeared before this Council, who when their defense had been heard, were absolved of all charges, and the judge and visitant were summon-

ed, ordering the names of all the ecclesiastics to be cancelled from the proceedings. The king wishing to reward the merits and services of the learned Piedrahita and at the same time to make reparation for having caused him unjust sufferings, named him Bishop of Santa Marta. This intelligent and industrious man took advantage of his detention in Spain, there to publish his General History of the Conquest of the Kingdom of New Granada although only the first volume appeared in print, which covers from the reign of Saguanmachica through the years of 1470 until the coming of President Don Pedro Díaz Venero de Leiva in 1564.

4. When he was capitulary vicar of the Archbishopric of Santafé, he issued several necessary and important edicts and ecclesiastical policies which even today are observed. He laid the cornerstone of the building of the Chapel of "Nuestro Amo" in Bogotá, which the pious Major, Don Gabriel Gómez de Sandoval built at his expense during the reign of Philip the fourth. He also granted permission for the founding of the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in the district of Las Nieves, accompanying this permission with a donation to this Society, of two houses which he owned in the city and of a precious relic for the church of the novitiate, the Crucifix which Saint Francis Borgia held on his deathbed. The novitiate however, could not maintain itself in Bogotá for lack of funds and had to move again to Tunja.

5. The Ill. Sr. Piedrahita was consecrated Bishop of Santa Marta at the beginning of 1660, and immediately went to his diocese, thus embracing more closely the Cross of Christ, by accepting like an Apostle the works and sufferings of his position. He visited his bishopric, penetrating far into the hidden Indian towns, baptizing, confirming, and providing all that was necessary for the teaching of Christian Doctrine. He then devoted himself to the rebuilding of the Cathedral, which he made of masonry to protect it against the fires, to which it was exposed from the pirates and gentile Indians, as had been experienced in former years. In this work and in almsgiving he exhausted all his income, which was very small, keeping only what was literally necessary to clothe himself, for where his clothing was not in holes, it was patched; and to keep himself from starvation.

6. Thus was Señor Piedrahita spending his truly evangelical life, when in the Bay of Santa Marta, there appeared the two allied French and English corsaires, Coz and Duncan, followers of

Henry Morgan, Governor of the Isle of Providence; the inhabitants surprised, fled to the mountains, as they had done on previous occasions, and the invaders capturing the city, took possession of all the valuables. They led the Bishop to the church to make him deliver to them the Sacred Vessels, and he not consenting to this, they fired a carabine against the Sanctuary doors which they opened, and removing the Monstrance and Pyx, they scattered on the floor the Sacred Species of the Holy Eucharist. The holy prelate, filled with grief, on his knees, consumed the Sacrament when one of the Protestants raising a sabre, dealt him so strong a blow on the back, that felled him to the ground. The French in the meanwhile, Catholics as they were, were respectfully kneeling while the bishop picked up the Blessed Sacrament; but they only waited for him to finish, to put into their coffers the Monstrance and Pyx which they already held in their hands.

7. They then went with Sr. Piedrahita to his house and there they put him to torture ordering him to confess where he kept the treasures; but as his riches were treasured above in heaven, through the hands of the poor, he had to suffer much because they did not believe that his only treasure consisted in the ruby ring which had been put upon his finger at his consecration and which he kept hidden in the hinge of a door where they found it. The news of the invasion reached Cartagena and General Antonio Quintana went to the succor of Santa Marta with the squadron which guarded the coast and with many brave soldiers who went determined to fight to the last hazard against those sacrilegious marauders. They arrived at the port of Santa Marta while the pirates in the city were absorbed in their plunder and the officers and troops who saw this an opportune occasion to capture them, full of valor and enthusiasm incited General Quintana to disembark and attack them immediately. But the General said that as he had orders that the town should be attacked by land, a squadron must remain at anchor guarding the port in order that they might not escape when attacked. Night fell and in the silence the pirates loaded their pillage, embarked the bishop, Gov. D. Vicente Sebastián Maestre, and departed through a clearing which had been left unguarded, without having been perceived by the General of the squadron, who on the following morning found himself thwarted.

8. Father Zamora observes humorously in his History of

the Province of San Antonio and the new kingdom of Granada, that as there is no thief without his devotion, Henry Morgan, chief of the bandits so regretted the outrages committed against the bishop that he had the perpetrators hanged, and having received in his house with great demonstrations of esteem, Señor Piedrahita who told him he had been named Bishop of Panamá, Morgan presented him with a very fine pontifical which with other sacred ornaments he had robbed from that city some time before, crowning his courtesy and generosity by supplying him with a well equipped ship so that he might go in all comfort to Cartagena. He was received in the city with great joy, because no good result had been expected from his abduction to Providencia; but Sr. Piedrahita unfortunately heard there that General Quintana on his arrival at Santa Marta had confiscated from the villagers, heads of cattle and hogs, and with this booty of salt meat returned very satisfied to Cartagena, thus rendering the inhabitants poorer than before.

9. Sr. Piedrahita went to his bishopric at Panamá where the same difficulties with the pirates, who continued marauding in the South Sea, followed him. On one occasion he was obliged to take the nuns out of the convents to flee to the mountains with other ecclesiastics who could not bear arms. When the enemy had retreated he returned to the city with the ecclesiastical emigration. He heard that the Indians of Darién had apostatized from the faith and had retreated to the jungles to resume their old idolatry, and without fear of being overtaken by the pirates, he embarked and reaching Darién penetrated the mountains in search of his lost sheep. With kindness and gifts of baubles of which he had brought great quantities, he made them return to their flock; he did not leave those tribes until he had made them subject to the missionaries. On Sundays he went out to preach and teach Christian Doctrine through the Plazas and streets, an edifying example followed by the priests and religious in the other Indian towns; and after the great fatigue of the day he spent the night in prayer and penance. In Panamá as well as in Santa Marta he lived in the greatest poverty in order to help the poor. Thus was this truly apostolic man spending his life, when God saw fit to call him to Him, to award him the crown of justice prepared for all who serve Him. Comforted with all the Sacraments Sr. Piedrahita died in 1688 and was buried in the church of the Jesuit College in Panamá.

CHAPTER XXII

1. Sr. Don Diego Ladrón de Guevara, twenty-second bishop of Panamá. Marquis de la Mina is calumniated before the king and is imprisoned. Bishop Guevara assumes command of the Province.
2. The work on the Cathedral and fortification is continued.
3. Attempted colonización of Darién by the Scotch. A company is formed.

1. A year after the death of Bishop Piedrahita Rev. D. Diego Ladrón de Guevara was raised to the see. He had been major collegiate in the province of Alcalá, Canon of the Cathedrals of Sigüenza and Málaga by competition and was presented for the bishopric of Panamá in 1689. His first care on taking over the diocese was to enforce observance of certain royal edicts concerning the evangelizing of the Indians, which had been impossible to carry out due to the disturbances occasioned in the colonies by the frequent invasions of the pirates. Although these invasions had not ceased and the fear of other new ones had not disappeared, the zealous prelate thought that something along the line of missionary work could be accomplished. He had to suffer, however, many difficulties in carrying out his desire, for Marquis de la Mina, who at that time governed the province was separated from his government and imprisoned in the castle of San Lorenzo, on account of the calumnious charges brought against him by the Audiencia. He could not then, depend upon his support and it was necessary for him to defer his plans. Little did he suspect that it would soon fall to him in person to carry them out.

The deposal of the Marquis put the reins of government in the hands of Bishop Guevara, who had been named governor and Captain General ad interim in his place. Many very important affairs presented themselves to his zeal and vigilance; and without neglecting any, he found a way of attending to additional ones. The Indian missions then received a new impulse; they were re-

organized in the best possible manner in view of the constant danger which the filibustering attacks offered; vacancies left by missionaries deceased or missing in the persecutions, were filled, and various of the most urgent necessities were remedied.

2. In the twenty months in which he exercised the chief magistracy of the province, taking advantage of the relative calm which he temporarily enjoyed, Bishop Guevara interested himself in furthering to a certain extent the work on the cathedral and fortifications. These works naturally did not proceed with the rapidity desired, due to the scarcity of labor. As they had to employ the few men available in government work as preventive measures against future incursions of the pirates, the number of workmen who could take part in this other work was very limited. However this important branch of the civil and ecclesiastical administration was not neglected.

3. At the beginning of 1697 Count Canillas was named governor general in lieu of Marquis de la Mina, and thus Bishop Guevara was able to resume his important pastoral duties which had not failed to suffer somewhat, due to the pressure of his civil and military duties. The Darién region almost completely abandoned by the Spaniards after the horrible slaughter which the savage Indians of the High Bayano and of the Tuira perpetrated on the colonists, had become the coveted prey, not only of the buccaneers but of the speculators and traders as well. A Scotchman by the name of Wm. Patterson who on one of his voyages to the new continent had visited it, because of the reports which he had heard in Jamaica concerning that very rich and fertile territory, was charmed by it, and conceived the idea of conquering it, and establishing there a Scotch Colony. The daring enterprise naturally required not only a number of individuals but also huge capital to carry it out. Patterson was an intelligent, enterprising, wealthy man, and of considerable prestige in his country; he thought therefore that he could accomplish it. On his return home he communicated his idea to some of his friends, from whom he could expect efficacious cooperation and who because of their financial condition could back him. The result of these conferences was the forming of a company which they named "Company of Scotland, or of Darién." Said company was organized, the necessary provisions were made, among which figured the approval of parliament and the concession of the monopoly for a period of 31 years, as

well as the exemption from commercial taxes for another 21 years; they obtained the right to establish other colonies provided it were in territory not pertaining to other European government, or in case it should pertain to another, by procuring permission from the respective government. A capital of £600,000 sterling was subscribed, ships were ordered to be built in Germany and a movement was started to organize the first expedition of colonizers. All this naturally was done not only without consent, but even without the knowledge of Spain.

4. The future colonists of Darién having been sought and enlisted in number of 1,200, men, women and children embarked at the port of Leith on July 17th., 1698. Patterson came on this expedition bringing his wife on the ship called "San Andrés." As far as the island of Santo Tomás in the Antilles there were no significant events; all the people were in high spirits with dreams of happiness. Here the expedition stopped a few days to hunt a pilot who was to lead them to the Isthmian coast. Captain Allison, an ancient pirate, who lived there, undertook to do this and they continued their voyage safely reaching the Bay of Anacuchuna in north Darién, on the 30th. of October of the same year. The Darién Indians, who had nothing to fear of the filibusterers because they had nothing to lose, and being bitter enemies of the Spaniards, sympathized with the expedition, received them amicably and helped them to settle, accepting in exchange some baubles. Their chief, the Indian Andrés, already familiar with the visits of the buccaneers and a friend of some of them, came to offer his services and to befriend them. Patterson gave him the title of Captain; and as an insignia and distinction of said office, he gave him an old hat bordered with red ribbon. They made an alliance, the Indian promising not to disturb them or harm them in their new settlement; and Patterson in his turn promised the same. The colony was given the name of New Caledonia; and the hamlet which they established not far from the sea was given the name of New Edinburgh. A fort was constructed which they named San Andrés, and around the small village they made deep ditches to defend themselves against any attack which might occur, for they feared rightly that the Spaniards would want to drive them away. As soon as Count Canillas, governor of Panamá, heard what was taking place on the Atlantic Coast, he equipped a considerable force and quietly went with it along the gulf of San Miguel. En-

tering by the river Tuira as far as a point called Tubugantí, he halted intending to attack them by surprise, but he was not successful, for some Indians who saw him arrive took the tidings immediately to the Scotch Camp, whence a captain by the name of Jacob Montgomery, without delay left with 100 men to attack them, not without previously having armed the Indians so that they might make attacks from other points. The Castellians offered vigorous resistance against the Scotch; but on seeing that the Indians also, in increasing numbers were aiding them and had been armed by them they understood the impossibility of success and resolved to double back on Panamá.

5. But that which the Spaniards were unable to accomplish, the fatal climate of those unhealthy shores succeeded in doing. Even from the Antilles many of the expeditionaries had come in a dying condition, in consequence of the pernicious fevers at that time so common in these regions. Among the victims was Patterson's wife. The mortality increased in New Edinburgh and the supplies which had not been renewed were beginning to dwindle. Discouragement took possession of those unfortunate people and the idea of returning home was uppermost in their minds, including Patterson, who was suffering from malarial fevers. They sent to the neighboring English colonies for medicines and aid, and discovered that England had given orders that they should in no way aid them. In fact the king of England, on having learned that they had gone to settle in territory belonging to Spain without first having obtained the consent of the Spanish Government as had been stipulated, gave the above mentioned order, acting thus in a just and righteous manner. Realizing that they were abandoned and doomed to perish if they remained there any longer, they resolved to return home in June, 1699. Another expedition of 300, who came after the first, had the same fate; so that for the time being, the idea of colonization in Darién was abandoned.

Bishop Señor Guevara was promoted to the bishopric of Guamanga in 1699.

CHAPTER XXIII

1. Friar Juan de Argüelles, twenty-third Bishop of Panamá. State of intranquillity in the colony.
2. Second expedition of Scotch colonists to Darién. Disappointment experienced on arrival. Mortality caused by sickness. Insubordination of some.
3. The news reaches Spain. An expedition against the invaders is organized.
4. The governors of Panamá and Cartagena agree upon a plan of attack.
5. Battles of General Pimienta in Darién. He forces the Scotch to capitulate. These sail for home.
6. Friar Juan de Argüelles is transferred to Arequipa.

1. By the removal of Bishop Don Diego Ladrón de Guevara to the bishopric of Guamanga, Friar Juan de Argüelles came in 1699 to occupy the See of Panamá. He was of the order of St. Augustin, a native of Lima and a very religious man. This prelate could do nothing or almost nothing towards the civilization of the Indians because the threatened colonization of Darién by the Scotch kept the country in a continual state of unrest. He succeeded in having the missionaries continue the instruction of the already established christian communities, continuing the practice of the royal decrees which the illustrious Sr. de Guevara had enforced where it was possible considering the difficult circumstances of the colony.

2. When the news reached Scotland of the arrival of the first expedition of colonists to the shores of Tierra Firme, the favorable reception which had been given by the Darién Indians, and the founding of New Caledonia with New Edinburgh as its capital, a wild enthusiasm was awakened to come and settle in what was considered a new paradise. This was the sole topic, and there were many who volunteered as settlers for the new colony. But as at that epoch there were no ships which carried the news quickly, and as communications were made in sailboats which took months in arriving at the port of destination, they

had not heard of the disaster suffered by Patterson and his companions, nor of the death of his wife and of many others, nor of the royal decree given by the king of England, nor finally of the return of the few in a dying condition who escaped the disaster. A new expedition composed of 1300 individuals embarked at the port of Clyde on September 24th., 1699, and reached Darién November 30th. They spent a relatively short time crossing the ocean, but not little was their surprise when on arriving at a place where they expected to find an active and busy growing city, they found only ruins, the demolished fort of San Andrés, dwellings reduced to ashes and the land overgrown with jungle. Their disappointment was such that they had no other thought than to return as soon as possible whence they had come, and this desire was increased because the ship bearing provisions had been wrecked, and they were limited to the few which they had succeeded in salvaging. Sickness on the other hand already claimed several victims and with few exceptions the majority of them were suffering from fevers and other ailments proper to tropical climates. However before making any decision in favor or against the desired return those who conducted the expedition resolved to study the situation seriously in order not to take an ill-timed step which they might later regret, or for which they might be held responsible. As in crowds, and in tense moments like this, there never lack turbulent and bold spirits who will not subject themselves to any dictates whatsoever, but who wish to proceed according to their own inclinations, there were some among the colonists who attempted to take possession of ships anchored in the bay to escape in them in company with several others whom they had induced to adopt their policy. It was actual insubordination which fortunately was discovered on time and the principal promoter was punished by death. During this precarious state of affairs Captain Alexander Campbell succeeded in reaching the port: he was coming from Barbados with a shipload of provisions. In spite of this the discouragement among the colonists continued because of the sicknesses and the unhealthfulness of the place, and Captain Campbell had no little trouble in instilling courage and persuading them to continue the enterprise. A man of unusual courage and spirit was necessary to give impetus to the hazardous projects and for this reason he was named commander in chief of the expedition.

3. In the meanwhile the news of the happenings in Darién reached Spain producing alarm and indignation. The king unable for the moment to undertake a formal campaign against these abuses, ordered the viceroy of Perú, Count de la Monclova, to send to Panamá without delay, a force of at least 500 men with the necessary equipment; he also ordered the commanders in chief of Santafé and Quito to help the president of Panamá with all available resources to expel the invaders; and he was ordered to prepare what was necessary for the maintenance of the squadron at Portobelo and to take measures to prevent the forts of Chepo and the Bayano river from falling into the hands of the enemy, and to try to incite the negro savages to enlist under the banner of the king by making them alluring promises. These plans were formulated in accordance with the first news received, but when the second news arrived in which the monarch was informed of the calamities endured by Count Canillas in Tubugantí, the court sent further and more urgent orders to Count Monclova to send a reinforcement of 2000 men in the defense of the Isthmus, while they waited the arrival from Spain of another contingent which was being organized. The viceroy of Perú not being able to carry out the order immediately, did what he could for the time being, that is, sent two companies under one commander. In the meanwhile the promised reinforcement arrived from Spain at Portobelo under the command of Admiral Francisco Salmón. This consisted of two warships, which in addition to four others anchored in the bay, formed a small squadron capable of attacking the invaders.

Count Canillas cooperated with General Juan Pimienta, Governor of Cartagena, in formulating a plan of attack against the intruders sending his two squadrons to the spot decreed most appropriate to accomplish the purpose. The president of Panamá had 1000 men ready with whom he moved to Portobelo; General Pimienta came bringing 500; the army was mustered and organized under the orders of the governor of Cartagena, while the Panaman Army remained in Portobelo to send reinforcements and aid when necessary.

5. Pimienta went with this squadron to the site occupied by the Scotch colonists, and with due precautions disembarked his troops. He opened the campaign with many reverses at first, for the Scotch were not only prepared but well armed and their chief

Campbell was a man experienced in military tactics; but Pimienta not allowing himself to be discouraged by this, continued to attack and harass them, so successfully that the invaders began to weaken. Pimienta thought the moment ripe to propose a surrender; but they resolutely answered that they would not surrender, preferring death; that they would evacuate Darién, if they would be permitted to leave with the honors of war. The governor of Cartagena, who on the one hand saw that his army was much decimated, and on the other, considering that the object of the campaign was to oust those intruders from the Isthmus, agreed to it and on April 11th., 1700, the capitulation was signed. One of the clauses provided that all the Scotch military and naval officers should leave freely with the honors of war and that in exchange they would surrender to the Spanish chief all the artillery remaining in the fort of San Andrés. Pimienta returned to Cartagena on the 8th. of May. For some time those coasts were occupied by Spanish garrisons to prevent new invasions; but later in view of the mortality of the troops due to illness, they were recalled.

6. Bishop Friar Juan, who was the most zealous in communicating to the king the events which occurred in Tierra Firme, addressed to him at the conclusion of the campaign at Darién, a detailed report of what had occurred. He was removed from this bishopric to that of Arequipa in 1714.

CHAPTER XXIV

1. Friar Manuel Mimhela, twenty-fourth Bishop of Panamá.
2. The Colony continued in a state of unrest. Portobelo and Cana are sacked by the pirates.
3. Discord among the judges. Marquis de Villa Rocha is imprisoned at Chepo. Frequent changes in civil government. The royal supreme court is suppressed.

1. The successor of Friar Juan de Argüelles was the illustrious Friar Manuel de Mimhela, of the order of Saint Francis, a native of Fraga in Aragón, who went as Apostolic Missionary to the province of Zacatecas in Nueva España where he was Reader of Theology, and twice Superior of his convent. He returned to Spain as Solicitor General and then was presented by the king for Bishop of Panamá in 1714, as soon as Bishop Sr. Argüelles was transferred to his new See. In 1716 he was moved to the bishopric of Oaxaca in Mexico; but he had not even reached his destination when he received the appointment to that of Guadalupe.

2. The colony continued in the same state of unrest in which his predecessor had left it, due to the piratical invasions which did not cease. These bands of marauders appeared now in the Pacific now in the Atlantic, threatening the unfortified towns situated on the coasts of both oceans. Portobelo and Chagres on one side and Cana and Chepo on the other had been the targets of new assaults in which were committed the already described attacks on property, life and personal honor.

3. Unfortunately at this time there had arisen among the members of the Real Audiencia a spirit of discord which would not help but produce the most troublesome annoyances. At this time the Marquis de Villa Rocha was governing; already he had as much as he could do, with the presence of the pirates who marauded on the coast from Chagres to Portobelo, to give his attention to new internal complications incited by the judges of the

royal tribunal. Affairs assumed an evil aspect, their spirits were embittered and the final result of the discord was an agreement dictated by the Real Audiencia by which Villa Rocha was deprived of his command and banished to the fort of Chepo. The senior judge of the Audiencia, Don Fernando de Haro y Monteroso, was placed in charge of the government temporarily, until the Audiencia of Lima, by commission of the king, named Don Juan Bautista de Orueta e Irusta. But attributing this appointment to intrigues and bad management of the Audiencia of Panamá, José de la Rañeta y Vera took the command a short time afterwards without any just right. When this was known by the Marquis de Villa Rocha he left his banishment and came from Chepo to Panamá to seize the command from him. The field marshall José Hurtado y Amézaga considering him an intruder and usurper, in his turn seized the command from him, retaining it for five years, until 1716.

4. All these occurrences naturally deadened not only the advancement of the colony, but also the development and the progress of the missions among the Indians. Bishop Sr. Minhela therefore could do very little in favor of the spiritual welfare of his diocese. The news of the disturbances and misfortunes which occurred in Tierra Firme among those who had been appointed to maintain order, reached Spain, and when the king was informed that the ring leaders of the disturbances were the judges of the Audiencia themselves, he ordered this tribunal to be suppressed, adding the territory of its jurisdiction to the viceroyship of Perú and placing it under the authority of the Audiencia of Lima. Marshall Hurtado was removed, and when his successor was being named the illustrious Sr. Friar Juan José de Llamas y Rivas, of whom we shall treat in the next chapter, took charge of the government. These measures for some time calmed the turbulent spirits and restored tranquillity of the city.

CHAPTER XXV

1. Friar Juan José Llamas y Rivas, twenty-fifth Bishop of Panamá. He is named Governor of Tierra Firme by the king.
2. Lamentable condition of the missions.
3. The conversion of the Indians of Darién is undertaken.
4. Difficulties in conversion.
5. Arrival of Field Marshall Don Jerónimo Badillo.

1. Through the promotion of Bishop Manuel de Mimbela to the bishopric of Guadalajara, Friar Juan de Llamas y Rivas occupied the See of Panamá. He was of the order of Barefoot Carmelites, native of Murcia, Provincial of his order in the Province of Andalucía, and chosen in 1716 for the bishopric of Tierra Firme. The Audiencia having been suppressed and Marshall Hurtado deposed from his command, this was entrusted by the king to the new prelate, who united all the qualities which such a difficult position required, particularly in the lamentable condition in which he found the colony. A peaceful and prudent man, he began by reconciling those conflicting minds, treating all of them with equal gentleness, kindness, and justice; making them understand that he had not been sent to punish crimes nor to repair injuries, but to reestablish peace, harmony, mutual understanding among individuals and families; that the double authority with which he was invested would be employed in promoting concord and well being of all his subordinates without distinction of class and condition.

2. The frequent invasions of the pirates which for many years recurred at relatively short intervals, as well as these interior dissensions, paralyzed almost completely the beneficial influence of the missionaries over the Indians. The missions of course except in very few cases had not been suspended. The missionaries of the Interior continued with zeal to instruct the Christian communities; but the difficulty which this state of affairs created, checked and benumbed the progress of these missions to such a degree that several of them, especially those in the provinces of Veraguas and Darién had had to be abandoned.

Each invasion of the filibusterers filled with terror, not only the Spaniards but also the Indians, who fled to the mountains penetrating into the jungle as far as they were able, whence they never again emerged; it was worse than impossible for anyone to penetrate as far as they had gone. Those tribes no longer having missionaries to instruct and educate them in civilized living returned to their primitive savagery and ancient idolatry. Several efforts had been made by former bishops to remedy as far as possible this evil; but not having been able to obtain from civil authorities all the support which these efforts demanded, due to the abnormal situation of the colony, little or no progress had been made and matters appeared to become worse. The illustrious Señor Llamas y Rivas soon realized the causes and effects and realizing that the latter do not disappear, if the former are not removed, tried to apply the remedy with the tact and prudence which characterized him.

3. When internal peace among the inhabitants was insured in the capital as well as in the provinces, and when the marks of material progress which also were more or less paralyzed were resumed, the bishop fixed his attention on the work of evangelizing the Indians, which labor was so dear to the minds and hearts of the Spanish monarchs. He began by undertaking the conversion of the Darién Indians who, first on account of their proximity to the capital were a menace, and secondly, on account of the character peculiar to these tribes could easily be converted, as had been seen in the time of Bishop Piedrahita. But in order to better insure this conversion, it was not sufficient just to send missionaries there, but it was also necessary to populate with Spaniards the territory which had been left deserted since the horrible massacre which these savages had perpetrated there during the time of the illustrious Señor de la Cámara. The Indians had not again attempted any new hostile movement against the Spaniards and they dwelt secluded in the mountains. As time went on the first terror disappeared gradually, and an occasional family of Castellians had gone to settle in that savage region without being molested by the natives. This induced several colonists to accede to the suggestions and exhortations of the governor, and they resolved to go to resettle Darién. New towns were established on the same sites more or less where the others had

existed and measures were taken which were considered suitable to forestall new outbursts of the savages.

4. When the affairs of Darién were settled Bishop Señor Llamas turned his attention to the province of Veraguas, which was also in a lamentable condition. The christianized villages had been abandoned and the Indians were scattered in the mountains of the Cordilleras.

It was therefore necessary to recommence the apostolic work of evangelizing by going to hunt them out in the crags and caves where they had sought refuge. The missionaries took upon themselves this arduous and difficult task in which many of them lost lives overcome by fatigue and sufferings and from privations and inclemency of the weather. All those who have traversed the Cordilleras of Veraguas, especially through that section which forms to-day the districts of La Mesa, Cañazas, San Francisco and Santa Fe, can form an idea of the heroism of these intrepid apostles of Christian religion and faith. Fortunately the fact that the missionary was a type already known to the Indian, and that the latter was familiar with the manner and spirit of the former, made the conversion of the tribes easy, limiting the work, so to speak, to inspiring the confidence that they would no longer be attacked by the pirates and that in case they should be, the Spanish Government would make every effort to protect them and to safeguard them from new outrages and vexations. In fact the Indians had fled to the mountains and had hidden in the caves of the Cordilleras, not because of the ill-treatment received at the hands of the Spaniards nor for hatred of the latter, but on account of the cruelty of the filibusterers and to escape death in case of a new attack. However, it was extremely difficult to persuade them, and it was necessary for the missionaries to live among them for some time in those wild and rough places in order to obtain their complete conversion.

5. In 1719 Don Gerónimo Badillo, field marshall of the royal armies at Panamá, appointed governor by the king, to whom the Bishop Sr. Llamas y Rivas relinquished the command, after having exercised it for three years, to the greatest advantage for the colony in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. This illustrious prelate continued governing the diocese for one year more, for in 1720 his successor was elected—very probably on account of the death of Señor Llamas y Rivas.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Friar Bernardo Serrada, twenty-sixth Bishop of Panamá.
2. Inconveniences of the removal of the Audiencia to Lima. Royal Decree by which it is restored to Panamá.
3. Founding of the Audiencia of Santafé.
4. Receipt of the Royal Seal.
5. Faculties and prerogatives of the Audiencia of Panamá.
6. Removal of the Illustrious Señor Serrada to Cuzco.

1. Friar Bernardo Serrada, of the Order of Barefoot Carmelites and Provincial of his order, was appointed bishop of this diocese in 1720. The situation of the colony had been improved by the wise and prudent government of the illustrious Señor Llamas y Rivas and the new prelate did nothing more than to continue the work already started, bringing to it new zeal and new impetus. Everything seemed to reawaken in the different spheres of power, civil as well as ecclesiastical, the re-establishment of the Audiencia Real contributing greatly to this reawakening.

2. In fact it had not taken long to realize the grave inconveniences which resulted from the fusion with the Audiencia of Lima. The enormous distance which separates both cities; the scarce, slow and extremely difficult means of communication at a time when neither steam, telegraph nor cable was known, nor even dreamed of; the urgency with which at times it was necessary to transmit certain communications and news, and the obvious danger which the sail boats, conductors of these communications ran because of the hazards of the sea, and because of the encounter with pirate ships, etc., soon made it understood that this state of affairs would not continue; and that the reestablishment of the Audiencia in Panamá was a prime necessity; and it was expedient that the king should reform it and constitute it in such a way that the causes which led to its suppression should not again be repeated. This was done, and by Royal Decree of 21st. of July, 1722, the monarch ordered that the Audiencia of Pana-

má be restored. The new constitution which was given to it differed little from the previous one. It was to consist of a president, four judges and one attorney general. And in order to forestall future disagreements and discords, the president was invested with the power of governor and commander in chief of Tierra Firme. The first president invested with these powers was Don Gerónimo Badillo, who exercised them until his death in 1723.

We regret that we have not at hand any documents relative to the ceremony which necessarily must have taken place when the new Audiencia was inaugurated, as well as when it was established for the first time in Panamá. This was an act to which the Spaniards gave great importance and which they invested with great solemnity. Don José Manuel Groot quoting the Bishop Piedrahita tells of the founding of the Audiencia of Santafé de Bogotá in the year 1550 in the following terms: "The judges, founders of the Real Audiencia sailed from Cádiz to the New Kingdom in 1549. They were the lawyers Gutiérrez de Mercado, senior judge, López de Galarza y Beltrán de Góngora, and Francisco Briceño. They disembarked at Santa Marta and immediately went up to Santafé. Along with these also came the lawyer Alvarez de Bolaños as attorney general; and as high constable Juan de Mendoza Arteaga. Upon arrival at Santafé, and when they had presented their dispatches to the town council, the Royal Audiencia was recognized on the 7th. of April, 1550, and in accordance with instructions which they brought from the Indian Council, they proceeded to the entrance of the city toward the North, in order to carry out the ceremony of the Entry of the Royal Seal.

4. Then they placed a curious little casket, which contained the Royal Seal upon a white horse caparisoned with crimson velvet saddle, cushion and halter, led by a town councilman. The rest of the town councilmen attired in robes of camlet carried the poles of a rich canopy with which they covered this representation of royalty. The mounted judges rode on each side of the Seal, and beyond them were the two Mayors, Captain Gonzalo García Zorro and Juan de Avellaneda, who preceding the multitude of villagers, led the former to a house which had been duly prepared, where the Royal Seal was deposited under suitable guard."

Something like this or very similar doubtlessly must have taken place in Panamá at the first founding as well as at the re-establishment of the Audiencia, as these were ceremonies which were inseparably connected with this act, and which were not omitted except under extenuating and justifiable circumstances.

5. The Audiencia of Panamá at once enjoyed the powers and prerogatives granted to the other Audiencias on the Peninsula as well as in colonies. It was the supreme court of the territory, and was to be located in the capital in an adequate building destined for the exclusive use of the government, and was to bear the name of the capital in which it was located. Its powers and attributes were recorded in a special document which was diligently guarded, for these powers were not the same for all the Audiencias of the kingdom, but they varied more or less in accordance with the necessities and circumstances of the localities. That of Tierra Firme, as we have seen, was composed of a president, four judges, and an attorney general, which means that it was not one of lesser importance, for that of Santafé did not have any more members, nor were more necessary, due to the special circumstances of the colony.

6. After the death of General Gerónimo Badillo, the government of Tierra Firme was temporarily in the hands of the judges Gaspar Pérez de Buelas and José de Alzamora y Ursino, successively, until the year 1724 when field marshal Manuel de Alderete, appointed by the king, arrived. Bishop Don Bernardo Serrada was transferred to the bishopric of Cuzco in 1725.

CHAPTER XXVII

1. Rev. Don Agustín Rodríguez Delgado, twenty-seventh Bishop of Panamá. New discords among the judges and the governor.
2. Invasions of the English pirate Hezier.
3. Description of Darién.
4. Inroad of the Mosquito Indians to Chiriquí.
5. Obstacles which prevented the conversion of the Indians.
6. Marshall Alderete is deposed from command. Bishop Señor Rodríguez is transferred to La Paz.

1. On account of the transfer of Rev. Señor Serrada to Cuzco, Bishop Sr. Don Agustín Rodríguez Delgado, who had been the parish priest of Hortaleza in the bishopric of Toledo, was appointed in the same year 1725. It fell upon him to govern his diocese at an unpropitious time, for again there arose new discords among the judges and governor Alderete. The prelate intervened to conciliate them, manifesting to them the harm that not only the civil and diocesan administration received from this lack of concord and harmony, but also the danger to which they exposed the colony of being a second time deprived of a tribunal as important as the Audiencia; for it was very much to be feared that the king in view of the disturbances would decree a similar measure. It happens unfortunately in cases of this kind, that those who are discontented are not satisfied with being so themselves, but try to plant their ideas in others; this results in the formation of parties and factions which make agreement between them very difficult, leading to violent measures, which rather than improve a situation make it worse. This was what occurred with one of the judges who proved himself relentless and intolerant, and whom the Governor was forced to imprison in order to avoid greater complications.

2. In the year following the appointment of the illustrious Señor Rodríguez, 1725, the English admiral Hezier, appeared before Portobelo. In spite of his efforts to gain the fortified town he was not able to succeed, because it was defended by Gen-

eral Francisco Cornejo. The pirate, however, did not desist from his intention and continued for two more years hostilizing the town. Finally in 1728 the mortality which the fevers inherent to those fatal shores caused among his troops, and of which Hezier himself was a victim, forced the survivors to retreat.

3. The frequent attempts of the foreign element to gain possession of the Darién country, and the continual uprising of the Indians of that region, suggests to us the idea of examining it more closely in order to discern the causes which led to this state of affairs, and to make them known to our readers. Our information is drawn from a report submitted to the crown by governor Don Andrés de Ariza and from the Ecclesiastical and Civil History of New Granada.

The capital of this interesting part of the viceroyship of New Granada was El Real de Santa María until 1760; but on account of the invasions of the Indians it was moved to the new town of Yaviza, which is the meeting point of the river of this name and the main river called Chucunaque, the logical passageway of the savages and the place which was to be defended by a stronghold of masonry. It in fact was built as a dwelling for the governor with his garrison of sixty men. This province was composed at that time of nine towns with two hundred inhabitants, more or less, three of them formed entirely by Indians converted recently to the faith, for which reason they did not yet pay tribute. These nine towns were administered to, by their pastors although there was no church nor chapel in any of them. There were besides the strongholds of Yaviza, three other strongholds made of wood and palm, and in these forts were distributed twenty two swivel guns, and one cannon, which was fired only when there was an alarm of Indian attacks.

The province was governed militarily by a governor with a salary of two thousand pesos. The garrisons were composed of negroes and twenty veterans of the Panamá batallion. No kind of taxes nor royal duties were imposed and commerce was free without any duties or taxes, because it was desired to encourage the province and attract settlers from the mountains and other places. The only existing tax was the tithes for the support of the parish priests; an income which amounted every five

years to five hundred pesos in rentals, that is to say one hundred pesos annually. This was very little for the support of six priests, the share due each of whom amounted to sixteen pesos a year, a sum which could not even support a beggar. There was no horse breeding, nor more than a dozen beasts of burden to carry the provisions to the garrisons every two months. Cattle were scarce and consequently meat was expensive, but on the other hand game of different kinds abound in that province, principally wild mountain hogs which are larger there than anywhere else.

In spite of the fact that the climate is warm in some places and temperate in others, this province has the peculiarity of being very free from insects. There are no "pitos", (ticks), bed bugs, sheep ticks, nor even mosquitoes; there are only little red bugs, an imperceptible and extremely bothersome insect, which is found in Yaviza and El Real de Santa María. Up to the year 1727 there were in the parish of Santa María la Antigua, as many as ten towns of Christian Indians subject to the king, but free from taxes. They were: Congo, Balsas, Acantí, Paya, Yaviza, Sanibre, Pirre, Matumaguntí, Taparacá, and Tupisa. Thanks to their policy of leniency these towns increased with Indians who came from the mountain to form part of the civil community, embracing the religion without repugnance, for although they were idolaters they were not stubborn in their belief like some of the others. These natives like those of the centre of the New Kingdom had their own governor with his mayors and deputies, according to the importance of each town. These offices were filled by the Governor Captain General of the province, just as the president of Panamá provided the chiefs, but they were always assigned to men of the race. These natives progressed in agriculture; they had good tilled lands, from which they obtained not only sufficient for the healthful sustenance of their families, but even enough to provide the miners with foodstuffs from whom they never wanted to receive payment in gold, but in exchange wanted materials, tools and baubles, and this established a commerce extremely useful for all, as in this manner the mines were assured of the supply of foodstuffs and the Indians of the necessary effects for domestic life, at a time when there was being introduced among them the taste for clothing and rich ornaments. All these combined interests promoted

agriculture on the part of some, and on the part of the others, commerce and the exploitation of mines; and what was still more important, the conquest which religion and civilization made in the shadow of these interests.

Darién with these foundations, with an excellent climate, veined with navigable rivers, many of them gold bearing, with a fertile soil, with mountains of precious woods, abundant in game, as well as the rivers in fish; with very rich gold mines, with a happy location between two oceans destined to meet there through an Isthmus easy of access, why is it to-day useless to the nation to which it belongs?

This question occurs to anyone and we shall answer, in the first place that its very riches were the cause of its decadence and misfortune. The Darién country was a beautiful maiden with a mother who did not appreciate her, and the libertines left her in deplorable conditions. The greed of the foreigners and the wicked passions aroused in the native by them brought to ruin this province destined to have been the richest and happiest; and the very ones who should have tended toward its progress not only by social and religious interest, conspired against it. The Candelario missionaries sprinkled that soil with their blood, fulfilling their apostolic duties, but they could not endure because of lack of support and cooperation from the authorities. Many of these towns would have remained faithful to the government if the evil treatment which they received at the hands of the authorities had not induced them to rebellion. They were forced not only to make community clearings for their maintenance but also that the authorities might trade with their products; but that which hurt the Indians most was not this, but the fact that the magnates, beat them and dragged them by the hair and not even the chiefs and the leaders of the people were free from this kind of treatment. This embittered them against the government of the province to such a degree, that they only awaited an opportune time to rebel against the Spaniards; to this was added the suggestions of the foreigners who came in search of gold and did not lose the occasion to incite the natives against the government.

One of these was a Frenchman called Carlos Tibon, who after the first sacking of Santa Cruz which the English had effected in 1712, carrying with them all the riches and slaves of the mines, came with eighty of the most villanous Frenchmen which

infested the Province, and gathering together three hundred Indians from the Gulf of Urabá, they entered by fire and sword in search of the gold which had been taken from the mines, and committed all kinds of crimes. The president of Panama Don Manuel Alderete, ordered a force to go in pursuit of the bandits, appointing as its leader the half cast Luis García, a bold and valiant man of great prestige among the Indians; and moreover offered García a reward if he were to capture and kill the ringleader Tibon. García succeeded in the undertaking by killing Tibon and when he reached Panamá he presented himself in order to obtain the amount promised him as reward for the destruction of the bandits. Sr. Alderete who at the time was very much absorbed with the subject of galleons did not dispatch García as soon as he expected, and the latter tired of waiting in Panamá without means of livelihood, took it upon himself to replace M. Tibon, and did this successfully. He returned to Darién, raised the banner of rebellion against the province in order to rob the mines and whatever possessions the inhabitants might have. The latter were just commencing to recuperate from the losses and other evils caused by the foreigners aided by the savage Indians.

García passed to the town of Balsas, the chief of which had been maltreated a few days before, and telling each other their misfortunes, they resolved after a few conferences to retreat towards the mountain with all the inhabitants and with others who were similarly disposed, to establish there a government independent of the Spaniards. The exodus was verified with a greater following than had been anticipated, so great was their antagonism toward the Spaniards. When they were established in the site selected the vindictive Luis García determined to carry out his design making his way to El Real de Santa María. Here he did not spare the Spaniards but also decreed their extermination and that of all the Indians who did not embrace his cause which he designated the "Liberty and Independence of Darién." García had made an agreement in these plans with the French married to Indian women in those towns and whom he had left there to help him in their turn. He made his first attack on the town of Yaviza, where he slew the priest, the mayor, and the lieutenant, and other Indians who did not wish to follow him. He robbed what they had, saying that it was in payment for what the king owed him and did not wish to pay him in Panamá. Encouraged by the

success of his initial onslaught, the liberator of Darién proceeded making his way to El Real de Santa María. Here he did not catch them unawares because the news of the entry into Yaviza had made the principal people retreat to the mountains, where they hid with all the possessions which they could carry. He entered the town unrestricted because at that time there was not one soldier in the province; and not finding any loot, he set fire to the town and killed those who were there and refused to follow him. Fortune favored García, and being proud to see that no one dared to resist him he fell upon the town of Chepigana, thence to others, and from there to the mines, robbing everywhere whatever was at hand, leaving the people terror stricken, the fields razed, and all in ruins, saying always that his purpose was the liberation of Darién from Spanish tyranny. Forthwith he retired to the mountains, very self satisfied while the towns recuperated from their ruins, in order again to relieve them of what they had amassed.

When the news of these dire events reached Panamá, the president ordered a troop of seventy veterans with good officers to set forth, these encamped in the town of Chepigana; García came thither with his ally the chief Juan de Dios, who died in the skirmish after having killed one of the officers, without having attained anything else. But these happenings not only diffused consternation in the province of Darién, which already boasted of a population of over twenty thousand souls, but also stirred up the government of Panamá who found it necessary to take various measures and to direct a regular expedition with the purpose of delivering, dead or alive, the half cast García, from whom all evils originated, this being the only solution for checking them. The force started out and as Chucunaque seemed to García de proper point of advantageous defense, he waited there with many followers; when the combat was in force, after killing many, he himself died at the hands of a negro miner of the company of Captain Pedro de Góndola. In view of such happenings, and in order to prepare themselves against them in the future, the governor proposed to erect two strongholds, one in El Real de Santa María and the other in Chepigana. But this did not inspire confidence in all of them and judging themselves still in a state of insecurity, exposed not only to lose their possessions but also their lives, the inhabitants of that region, happy

without such liberators, began to emigrate to Panamá, Cartagena, and other provinces. Nothing more was necessary to complete the decadence of Darién, the population of the province was reduced to about a thousand persons of all classes, who because they were useless and helpless were unable to flee.

The rebel Indians, remains of García's faction had enlarged their towns in the mountains with others who were obliged to follow them, fearing that they would kill them, as they had so many others, who had resisted them. These Indians continued their attacks upon the town subject to the government, doing them more or less harm, until 1772 when the stronghold at Yaviza was well established with a sufficient force to give the province security. However by this they did not succeed in reestablishing confidence among settlers, nor progress in the missions notwithstanding the efforts of some Jesuits who had been sent even before this epoch: for it was a proven fact that wherever foreigners were able to mingle with the Indians the efforts of the missionaries were fruitless and in Darién more than anywhere else. After this rapid glance at the vicissitudes of said Province, it will not be amiss to jot down a few of the customs of the natives and the richness of their mines. In each Indian town or hamlet there is a chief or Captain who governs and is therein the principal person, and the second, the "lere" priest or prophet. The "leres" are held in greater consideration than the chiefs themselves, among the people; and the more garrulous and prevaricating, the more they appreciate them. They say and believe that the "lere" talks with the "Dios Chiquito" (small god) and that it is the latter who entrusts to him the mutual care of the people, and they add that the "lere" sees and knows whatever is happening above in the fiery region. When there is a native festival the "lere" begins to "lerrear" on the eve, and to say prayers, which he does in a closed room without a roof with a high floor or "azotea" (platform) which they call "carro." The prayer is reduced to a great deal of talking, and the singing of their prayers is an attempt to imitate the bleatings and cackles of animals, an exercise in which they acquire skill, and the greatest talkers and most skillful in this mimicry are considered the most saintly. When they go hunting they take the "lere" along to serve as a decoy for the birds. Such is the importance of the "leres" that in their most serious affairs he is consulted by them before the governing chief.

The "Camoturo" or musician must be as crafty as the "lere." He occupies the third seat in the hierarchy, and is appointed to govern the town in the absence of the chief or the "lere," who is the second. His office is to play the "camo" at these feasts, which are reduced to dancing and drunkenness, caused by "chicha." The "camo" is a species of reed flute with holes for the positions. The sound of this instrument is disagreeable and the tunes which they play, lugubrious and monotonous. While they play they utter a certain gibberish, says Governor Don Andrés de Ariza, and he relates that being present at one of these performances, he asked the "camoturo" what he was saying to the dancers and he answered: "what the leres advise." Their favorite dance is the Guayacán, which consists in forming a large circle of men and women alternating, in the center of which stands the "camoturo" and to the sound of the camo, all give two hard stamps and then two steps, and arms interlaced they begin to make rapid turns to the time which the "camoturo" plays in the centre of the circle.

The "urunia" is the commander who disciplines the people for war against the foreigners and must be the bravest and boldest of them all. The hunts are made by the people collectively, and are a kind of expedition. The chief followed by the lere and other officials leads them. The wild hog, a specie of boar, and "pavones" (turkeys), ducks, partridges as large as a chicken, iguanas and black monkeys, this is the game which they seek. They never return without having killed at least fifty wild hogs. The arms which these Indians use are arrows and guns; but since they have become familiar with firearms, they have but little use for the former, while each Indian must have his gun and munitions. Don Andrés de Ariza says that they do not like the arrow for hunting because it does not kill the animal instantly and more often it flees for a great distance to die, and they lose it. This proves that the Indians of Darién do not use poisoned arrows.

That hatred which they feel for the Spaniard is caused mainly from the suggestions of the foreigners situated along the coast of the Mulatas. These have imbued them with the notion that the Spaniards teach them religion in order to enslave them; and with this idea founded on the evil conduct pursued against the Indians, their conversion to the faith was made more difficult each day, and consequently the civilization of these savages has become almost impossible, for in order to bring this about with-

out destroying and annihilating them there is no other way than by religion. It was for this reason that the Indians became so cruel towards the missionaries, not contenting themselves with merely putting them to death, but causing it by torment. The Candelario fathers in the missions of Urabá were almost all of them martyrs to the faith on account of this misunderstanding.

In former times there was a strange tribe of Indians in the province of Santa María called Páparos, whose principal settlement was between the rivers Yape and Puero which empty into the Tuira. Their dialect was different from that of the other natives. Their arrows, darts and tools were made of flint, because they had no intercourse with other people who might have acquainted them of iron.

Never was a Páparo Indian seen in a Spanish town nor any other Indian town, nor were they ever seen to harm anyone, even when they met foreigners, for if attacked they did not pass beyond the defensive. The Páparos fled from the Cuna Indians because these robbed them of their children to sell them as slaves to the Spaniards, and this gave rise to a royal decree issued by the Real Audiencia in 1713 which placed heavy fines on those who received the Páparo Indians in the quality of slaves. Governor Ariza says that in his day he made many inquiries to find out where this tribe dwelt, and he found no one who knew anything about them, which fact caused him to believe that they had been the victims of small pox.

When in 1713 Dr. José Alzamora Ursino, judge of the Audiencia of Panamá made his visits to the mines of Santa María la Antigua there were already eight mines registered, called: Troncoso, Sábalos, Tayecuas, Nuragantí, Arquiatí, Nususanaquí, Amariscatí, and Bagre; and these were so rich that in the regulations concerning his visits, he was forced to prohibit the gathering of peddlers, imposing a fine of one hundred castellanos in gold on any who were found there. This tended to prevent the negro miners stealing from their masters to sell to the former the gold of which they obtained large quantities, defrauding the royal taxes. Such was the production of the mines that even the ecclesiastical fees increased by being paid in gold pesos which before were paid in pesos of eight reales, which was equivalent to doubling the quantity for them. The mine of the Espíritu Santo was worked until the year 1727, and according to the record of

the master armourer of the mines, Pedro Oreamunio, there were connected with it Antonio Argüelles, vicar of the province, Don Diego de Guardia, Lieut. governor of Cana, Don Juan de León, Don Diego Mojica, and Don Antonio Sota. It grieves one to see the vicar of a province at the head of promoters of a mine! What a poor impression this clergyman gives! The vein of gold of this mine was very rich and of such fine metal that it was over twenty-two carats. The mine was so deep that the workmen descended by five stairs from twelve to fifteen steps each and there were four pumps to raise from one to the other the water which filtered from the bottom; more than two hundred men worked in it alternating night and day on different tasks.

They took out of the mines the gold bearing earth and quartz to be washed. The shafts had four stories supported by bulwarks which came out of the ground itself, and they were reinforced by props and cross timbers of very strong wood. The last story was so spacious that many workmen could fit in it without crowding; but the subterranean works not having been scientifically directed, the second floor caved in and buried all those who were working below. Some of them who got into certain holes and succeeded in escaping fled horrified and it was impossible to oblige them to continue to work in that mine. This united to the Indian attacks, and the piracy of foreigners, completed the ruin of the province. Almost all the workmen of the mines although colored were free, their daily wage was a little platter of earth, so that each Saturday they received six dishes, or seven, if the earth held little gold. When they washed the earth they got from sixteen to twenty gold castellanos and sometimes more, so that it could be calculated that each one earned from thirty to forty pesos at least weekly. But this was not all, for they robbed the best of the vein and used to hide it to carry it out in their clothing when they went out, or when they were taken out to meals. The gold was so abundant that it was not sold by the weight, but by the flask, as is narrated by the above mentioned Master Oreamunio who had been buried in the slide, and was one of those who succeeded in making an escape, and he added that when the watchmen slept or were off their guard, the workmen who knew where the best veins were, filled their pockets or bags from three to five pounds, which they later removed, burying it outside, and afterwards dug out again. It is told that

those negro day laborers courted their sweethearts by sprinkling gold on their heads which they carried in heaps in their pockets. A slave of Don Andrés de Sosa found in a mine a deposit of gold, the abundance of which the reader may infer from the rewards which he received from his master when he went to ask for them. Sosa gave him and his wife liberty, a house in Panamá, a plantation, and money to work it. It was said that this vein unlike others thus designated contained sixty thousand gold castellanos of twenty-two karats.

Besides this, in the mountains inhabited by Barbarian tribes, there is a multitude of rich minerals which the Indians do not touch nor allow others to, because of their superstition that any one who touches gold, or allows anyone else to do so, will die soon. The engineer, Don Antonio Arrévalo on the journey which he made through Darién for the government, found on passing the river Playón in Sabana, two stones, the size of his fist studded with gold which produced eighteen castellanos. The voluble Simancas who witnessed the find tells the story and also says that he himself picked up several others which the Indians made him cast away, for fear of the above mentioned augury. Don Joaquín Baleázar had the same experience; when he was protector of the natives of that province, he had to cross through the river Chucunaque in order to traverse the arm of the Sucumbí to the small Bay of Pinos, and finding a stream which empties into Sucumbutí and into it many stones encrusted with gold and nuggets of this metal, tried to pick them up, but refrained from so doing for fear of the Indians, especially the Chief Arrisagala Cuguí who threatened him.

In the river Cuque at the mouth of the Atrato, according to the story told by the Indian Diego Matalo to the Alcalde of the town of Pinogana, supported by the chief Estradas and the interpreter Simancas, there was a stream, or ravine so abundant in gold, that it could be seen glittering in the ground in the manner of stones. They used to tell that the master Don Juan Carizala, an individual with the title of "maestro de campo" came with his slaves and began to gather much gold which later he was obliged to cast away in order not to perish at the hand of the Indians. Simancas relates that in the great sierra of Mali toward the south in a stream which empties into the river Puero, there is so much gold quartz that a gang of Chocó negroes went there to

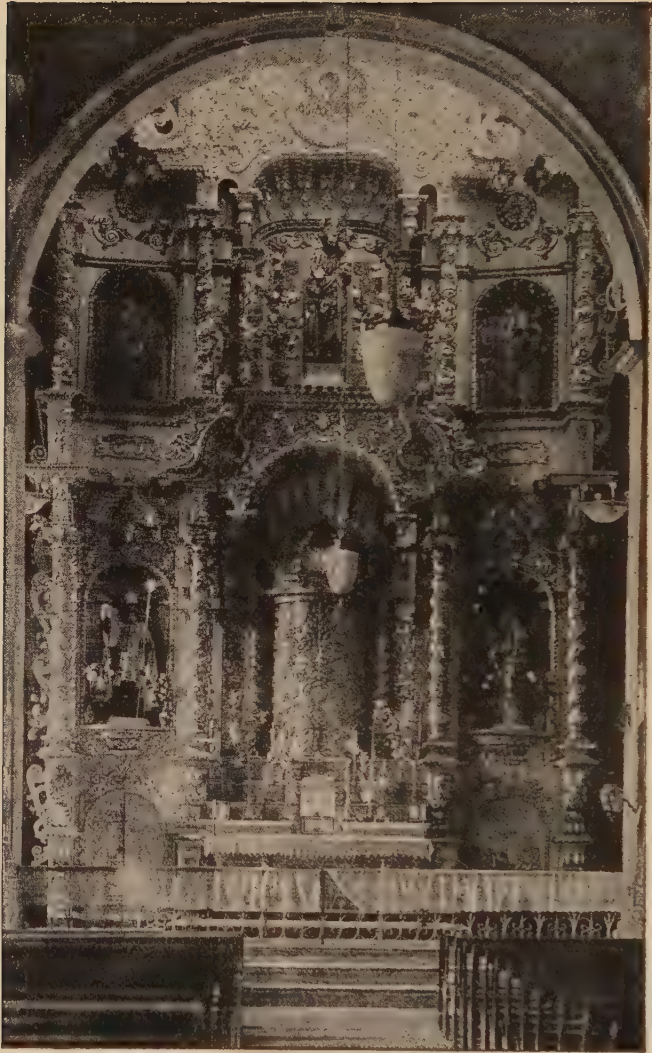
camp in order to extract it; but as soon as the Indians saw them they fell upon them killing them to the last man. All this information is found in a report presented in 1774 by Andrés de Ariza to the Viceroy Guirrior.

4. But if on the one hand anxiety ceased with the disappearance of the filibusterers who survived Hezier on the other hand there arose a new, strange, and no less unexpected outbreak with the attack of the Mosquito Indians coming in the same year in some unknown way from Nicaragua, and invading the province of Chiriquí. These Indians apparently had no hostile intentions against the Spaniards, but rather against the tribe of Róbalos who had declared themselves friendly to the latter. The Róbalos on hearing of the advance of their enemies, abandoned the palisades which they had at the foot of the Cordilleras, and established themselves in the plains near Dolega, where the Spanish authorities might render them aid. The Mosquito Indians returned to their own lands without carrying their offensive any further.

5. One may already imagine that the Ill. Señor Rodríguez in the midst of these discords, disorders and interior anxieties could do little in favor of the advance of the propagation of the faith. In those days in which this continent was far from possessing the present modern means of communication, and which had not even dreamed of the possibility of the material advancements which today it enjoys, because they did not exist even in Europe, this work which in itself is difficult and demands sacrifices proportionate to its greatness could only be carried on very slowly. It had to be accomplished by overcoming the very grave obstacles which the country offered because of its cragginess, harsh climate, large rivers, and deep valleys, its reptiles, insects and poisonous bugs, its lack even of the most necessary elements for the sustenance of the body. If to these difficulties, inherent so to speak to the nature of the work by reason of said circumstances, are added those which resulted from the frequent piratical invasions with their consequent uneasiness, anxieties, outrages and violences, and those which were caused by the discords and rivalries of the men in power, it will be understood that it was an enterprise short of impossible to carry out. However, the worthy prelates did not become dismayed, nor did the valiant missionaries flee before the difficulties, obstacles, and

harassing circumstances, it being on the other hand a cause for glory for them to conquer so great obstacles in order to win souls to Christ. Let this serve as an explanation to those who with little judgement and even less knowledge of the circumstances of the times and places, permit themselves to censure the slow progress of evangelization among the native peoples, at the time of the colony.

6. Marshall Alderete. notwithstanding the fact that he had given evidence of possessing exceptional executive ability in the various emergencies, because he went all through the colony during his administration, and also of inviolable fidelity to the crown, was, however, removed by the intrigues of his enemies from his office in 1730, Don Juan José Vivero y Velasco, being appointed to replace him. Bishop Sr. Rodríguez was transferred the following year 1731 to the bishopric of La Paz.



THE GOLDEN ALTAR

A relic from Old Panamá, now in the church of San
José, Panamá City.

CHAPTER XXVIII

1. Ill. Señor Don Pedro Morcillo Rubio y Auñón, twenty-eighth bishop of Panamá. The Indians of Darién continue unfriendly to the colony.
2. New Invasions of the Mosquito Indians. The Darién Indians again rebel.
3. Great fire in Panamá.
4. The oldest book in our archives. Edict of the visit to Alanje.
5. Manner of performing pastoral visits in those days.
6. A very ancient death record.
7. Reestablishment of the viceroyship of Santafé. The provinces of Panamá and Veraguas are admitted to form part of the viceroyship.
8. Unfriendly relations between Spain and England. Admiral Vernon takes Portobelo and blows up the Fort of San Lorenzo on the Chagres.
9. Pacification of the Darién Indians. Treaty of peace signed by the Ill. Sr. Morcillo Rubio y Auñón.
10. Governor Martín de la Vega is called to Spain. Death of the Ill. Sr. Morcillo.

1. Mons. Pedro Morcillo Rubio y Auñón, auxiliary bishop of Lima, was the successor of Bishop Rodríguez Delgado. He took possession of this diocese in 1732. The anxiety of the colony continued on account of the disturbances from without, caused by the frequent piratical invasions. It had been rumored that the Darién Indians were unfriendly to the Spaniards and that the few forces upon which the government of the capital could rely, were not sufficient to hold them in check and to overcome them. It was also said that these Indians in their hatred against the colonies were easily persuaded by means of gifts of small value to favor the filibusterers and even allied themselves with them in order to antagonize the former. This circumstance so favorable to the invaders together with the fact that these savage tribes were masters of all the Atlantic coast from Nombre de Dios, even beyond Cape Tiburón, was especially conducive to piracy.

2. In this year 1732, governor Don Juan José Andía Vivero had much with which to contend because of a double invasion which again disturbed the peace of the colony. The Mosquito Indians again penetrated the province of Chiriquí, attacked the village of David where they committed acts of savagery similar to those of the Darién Indians, and tortured the parish priest until they caused him to expire in indescribable torments. The Darién Indians, armed and provoked by other pirates again fell upon Santa Cruz de Cana and other towns of that region committing the usual assassinations and depredations. The inhabitants terrified fled in all directions, the majority taking refuge in the capital. Although the government ordered the repair of the fortifications constructed in Chepigana and El Real, and even increased them, the colonists did not regain confidence and were not willing to again colonize that dangerous region. Naturally this produced the decadence of Darién, a rich and productive region.

3. Governor Andía was called in 1735 to the court and decorated with the title of Marquis of Villa Hermosa in recompense for his good and loyal services. Dionisio Martínez de la Vega came to replace him in the same year; under his administration, a great fire occurred, the first recorded in the history of new Panamá. The city at that time had acquired large proportions, for according to Messrs. Sosa and Arce it already had nine hundred and eleven houses, of which six hundred were caught in the flames. The convent of San Juan de Dios, the Cathedral, Santa Ana church, and about three hundred houses were saved. This fire broke out on the second of February 1737, with extreme violence, due to the strong breeze which was blowing, and in spite of the energetic efforts made to check it, it was impossible to control it. On account of its magnitude and the havoc which it caused, it is called the "Large Fire" or "Fuego de la Candelaria."

4. Although we have in our archives a book of death records, belonging to the parish of Alanje, which begins in the year 1713, that is, in the vacancy which occurred between Rev. Friar Juan de Argüelles and Rev. Friar Manuel de Mimhela, for the first record registered in it is of a certain Núñez who was buried in the cemetery of that parish on the twenty-ninth of September of said year, there is, however, no record of a visitation, which may afford us some idea of the spiritual condition of the diocese

during the vacancy. Already in 1729, that is to say during the episcopacy of Bishop Agustín Rodríguez Delgado, we find in the same book a decree of revision of the records contained in it up to date, and which after deciphering, on account of the illegible handwriting, poor condition of the paper, and the manner of writing of that time, reads thus: "In the city of Santiago de Alanje on the sixteenth day of February 1729, Doctor Nicolás García Pinillos, parish priest of the town of San Francisco de la Montaña, Diocesan examiner of this bishopric and visitant of the province, appointed by Bishop Agustín Rodríguez Delgado, of His Majesty's council, His Grace the Archbishop of the Kingdom of Tierra Firme, and the province of Veraguas, and Darién, etc., having seen the record of burials in this book which he approved, thanked Don Patricio Joseph Montero de Espinosa as parish priest of said church, for having so well written and signed in accordance with the regulations, and charged him that in the future on the margin of each record should be distinctly written the testaments of the deceased, and in like manner writing the words—"left no will," in case of death without having made one, to insure greater clearness in the list of wills. Thus he decreed, commanded, and signed it, etc."

5. This document reveals to us two things; first: That the reverend bishops on account of the enormous and unsurmountable difficulties caused by the lack of communication with the interior of the colony, did not in person go regularly, but seldom to visit the towns in their extensive jurisdictions, the missionary priests residing in the provinces, substituting them in this task as appears in the present case, or by sending special visitants who as a general rule, were canons of the cathedral, young, robust, and capable of enduring the difficulties of a long, tiresome, and even dangerous journey, as we shall see in other records of pastoral visits. Second: That in the kingdom of Tierra Firme the royal edict was strictly observed which demanded that all should make a will before death, except in the case of sudden and unprovided death, when mention of this fact should be made in the death record. If the deceased for any reason whatever had not made a will which at that time was called "memoria", this fact also was to be noted in the death record.

6. In 1732, that is at the beginning of the episcopacy of Bishop Señor Morcillo, we meet the death record of a negro, which

we shall quote not only as a historical memoir, but because from it we make two deductions. It reads thus: (In the margin). "Antonio—Negro.—Simona.—A. D. seventeen hundred thirty-two. On the twenty-second of April, I, Doctor Patricio Joseph Montero de Espinoza, parish priest and vicar of Alanje, gave burial in this parish to Antonio Caballero, negro slave of Don Diego Caballero, and husband of María Justa Rufina. He received the last Sacraments, and was buried without pomp in the cemetery. Dr. Patricio Joseph Montero de Espinoza." We have kept the record in the spelling of the times. We do not understand what the priest may have wished to express by the word "simona" written in the margin. This record makes two things clear, namely: That when a negro slave died he should thus be designated in the death record, mentioning also the name of the owner in whose possession he had died; and this by virtue of a royal order; second, that the negro slaves did not have their own surnames and bore the names of their masters.

7. The viceroyship of Santafé de Bogotá had been founded in 1718 by Don Antonio de la Pedroza y Guerrero, a gentleman from the town of Buxes, of the Royal Council of the Indies selected and named by the king to found and establish it; and in it Rev. Friar Francisco del Rincón, a religious of the Minims of Saint Francis de Paúl, Archbishop of Santafé who had been exercising command as president, resigned. Pedroza established the viceroyship and acted as first viceroy for a very short time, for in the following year 1719, Don Jorge Villalonga came to replace him, knight of the Cave and of Saint James, lieutenant general and counsellor in the council of war. Viceroy Villalonga governed three years, at the end of which the viceroyship was suppressed on account of his reports and the New Kingdom was again governed by presidents, Antonio Manso Maldonado, field marshall, being the one this time to take command. He had just left the position of royal lieutenant in Barcelona and took over the presidency, May 17th., 1724. The Spanish court deemed it convenient to reestablish the viceroyship in order to give strength and respectability to the government of the country against the hostile policy of England, who suspicious of Spain declared war upon her because of questions pertaining to certain commercial franchises which English merchants in America abused. On August twentieth, 1739 the royal edict was issued, by which was

reestablished the viceroyship of Santafé; but it was not until the following year 1740 that it was carried out. In it was decreed that to the territories of New Granada, Venezuela, and Quito be added the provinces of Panamá and Veraguas with all their cities, towns, villages, with ports, bays, anchorages, inlets, etc., belonging to Tierra Firme on both seas. The jurisdiction of the magistrates remaining the same, so that the governor of Panamá retained the jurisdiction which he had over Portobelo, Veraguas, and Darién. The Audiencia remained subordinate to the viceroyship of Santafé, but retained its privileges in local matters; and the same configuration in the personnel, its president being the governor and captain general of the territory.

8. The relations between Spain and England had not been very cordial due to difficulties in maritime franchise. As a consequence of this lack of harmony, there appeared in Portobelo at the end of 1739 the English Admiral Edward Vernon who had his headquarters in Jamaica, and with little difficulty he took possession of the city on November twenty-second. This success which proved to him how poorly defended the colony of Tierra Firme was at that time, encouraged him to return the following year better equipped, with the intention of seizing the Isthmus and making it a British possession. In fact on the twenty-fourth of March 1740, he took Chagres and blew up Fort Lorenzo. He hoped that the vice-admiral George Anson would come to his aid—the latter had left England that same year with eight ships and rounding Cape Horn, he was to attack from the Pacific in combination with Vernon's squadron which was stationed in front of Portobelo; but Anson for some unknown reason did not go up as far as Panamá and this failure, added to the circumstance of there having arrived on the Isthmus reinforcements sent from Lima and Cartagena by the viceroys of Perú and Nueva Granda, discouraged him and induced him to desist from his intention.

9. The Indians of Darién continued to molest the colonists in various ways and becoming each time more of a frightful menace to the capital. It was an absolute necessity either to convert them or to destroy them, as a state of uninterrupted alarm could not be indefinitely prolonged. The Bishop Sr. Morcillo efficaciously seconded by Governor Martínez de la Vega, did all in his power to quell them, employing pacifying and ingratiating methods in his dealings with the savages. God blessed his zeal for

he had the consolation of having the two chiefs who led those hordes listen to his reasons and accept his offers. As each chief ruled a part of the Indian regions, Felipe de Uriñaquicha those of the North, and Juan Sauni, those of the South, with each of these Monsignor Pedro Morcillo Rubio y Auñón signed on July 20, 1741, a treaty of peace which was approved by Señor Sebastián Eslaba, then viceroy of New Granada. As a result of this, peace and tranquility were restored not only to Darién but also to the capital of the colony.

10. The Gov. Don Dionisio Martínez de la Vega already well on in years was summoned to Spain in 1741 where the King conferred upon him the title of Field Marshall in recompense for his service. The Ill. Señor Morcillo Rubio y Auñón died shortly after in the same year of 1741.

During the office of this prelate the brief of His Holiness Benedict XIV must have arrived which conceded to King Ferdinand VI of Spain the privilege that the priests of his dominion might celebrate three masses on All Souls' Day; and together with the brief the royal decree of the twenty-third of January, 1748, in which they were ordered to observe this. By this concession the priests were permitted to receive the accustomed money offering for the first Mass only, being obliged to offer the other two for all souls.

CHAPTER XXIX

1. Friar Diego Salinas y Cabrera, twenty-ninth bishop of Panamá. Did not accept.
2. Contraband along the Atlantic Coast. Trading posts established for this purpose.
3. Governor Alcedo y Herrera goes in pursuit of the contrabandists.

1. Friar Diego Salinas y Cabrera of the Order of Saint Augustin, in the same year 1741, in which died Bishop Morcillo Rubio y Auñón, was elected to succeed him, but he did not accept, the See remaining vacant under the jurisdiction of the Capi-tular Vicar.

2. That which just then most preoccupied Gov. Dionisio de Alcedo y Herrera was the contraband which for many years had been carried on in the provinces of Veraguas and Coclé by English merchants. These speculators had their general warehouse of European merchandise in Jamaica. From there as from a center of operations, they conveyed them on their boats to different parts of the continent, defying the vigilance of the authorities in order to sell them. As at that time the coasts were more deserted than at the present time, because the inhabitants lived grouped in very few and small towns, it was very easy for the contrabandists to approach, without being seen, certain selected points of the coast, disembark their bales, and carry them through trochas which they themselves opened across the mountains, up to the places where they were to sell them. This reprehensible traffic had been taking place since the year 1716 without the authorities' having seriously concerned themselves about it. This emboldened the contrabandists to the point of establishing a kind of trading posts at the mouth of some rivers, especially that of the Coclé which lent itself admirably to the conveying of the merchandise in cayucos up the river as far as places very near the towns.

3. The negligence of the authorities on one hand, and on

the other the inadequate knowledge of Spain and England with regard to their colonies in America, favored the contrabandists or rather, the latter took advantage of these circumstances in order each time, to develop further their shameful commerce in these countries. It was no longer at the mouth of the rivers only that they establish their species of storehouses, but in Natá itself they founded a stronghold defended by slaves to transfer merchandise from the Atlantic to the Pacific in order to convey them in the galleons which they had in this Ocean, to the coasts of Ecuador, Perú and Central America, where they sold them or exchanged them for products of those countries. These speculations increased day by day, so that the house established in Natá under cloak of a commercial house, protected by the English flag, was not only a drawback to the Spanish authorities but a true danger to the colony, as already it was being suspected from the attitude of proprietors. Governor Alcedo believed that the moment had arrived to take measures to thwart the progress of contraband which was so detrimental to the interests of the crown, and commenced a systematic campaign against it, which necessarily brought about the results which will be seen later.

CHAPTER XXX

1. Don Juan de Castañeda, thirtieth Bishop of Panamá. Persecution of the contrabandists. A contraband ship is captured.
2. Samuel Graws builds a fort at the mouth of the Coclé. A trading post is established at Natá. Governor Alcedo expels the English from Natá.
3. The Illustrious Señor Castañeda sends the Jesuits to Darién.
4. The missions of Darién are established. The Catechist missions of Molineca, Balsas, Tucutí and Cupe. The Indians prejudiced by the foreigners are hostile to the missionaries.

1. Don Juan de Castañeda, Archdeacon of the Cathedral Church of Cuzco, came in 1743 to take charge of the diocese, which he found in a state of confusion due to the contrabandists. Governor Alcedo y Herrera had taken the firm stand to pursue them, and for this purpose had detailed some ships for the guarding of the coast. These captured and brought to Portobelo a ship laden with contraband. The news reached Jamaica and Captain William Kinghills left there with a squadron to demand the delivery of the ships and their cargo. He arrived on the second of August, 1744, at Portobelo and immediately claimed the ship. The Spanish authorities naturally refused this, and without further delay said Captain began to bombard the port. The guns of the fort returned the fire, the affair, however, went no further for the Englishman did not dare disembark knowing that the town was well garrisoned.

2. Commander Samuel Graws, foreseeing that within a short time there would be signed between Spain and England a treaty to regulate the navigation of colonial waters, wished to hurry the acquisition of rights over certain points of the Atlantic coast, in order that they should be recognized by Spain, and in this manner preserve the expeditious route of his commerce with the Pacific through a territory subject to British dominion. With this end in view he took a part of the English squadron to the

Río Coclé and built a fort at its mouth. The contrabandists residents in Natá, seconding Graws' intentions, hoisted the English flag over the principal building of the trading post, signifying that they did not acknowledge Spanish dominion and considered their possession as British. This was a species of challenge which the brave General Alcedo could not tolerate. He took energetic measures sending a well armed expedition to the mouth of the Coclé, which leveled the fort constructed by Graws and destroyed the ships in the river, and the supplies which they had there. After leaving orders in Panamá, he went to Penonomé to organize a force with which to attack, from that direction, the contrabandists of Natá. His plan was to attack them simultaneously from three different points so that they would not be able to escape. The principal force, composed of three hundred men, was to leave from Panamá; the "Alcalde Mayor" would come with one hundred horsemen from La Villa de Los Santos and he was to attack from the section of Llano Grande and Olá with the rest of the army gathered in those parts. When the appointed time came the three sections advanced and doubtless the defeat would have been complete for the contrabandists if the Alcalde of Penonomé had acted with more activity and promptness; but his slowness gave the English, already fearing defeat, time to escape through one of the flanks, so that when the sections entered Natá on the sixteenth of November, 1746, they found the city deserted. They then took up the task of pursuit with such success, that in a short time they captured the greater number of the fugitives who had not had time to retreat very far, due to the density of the mountains which they had penetrated with the purpose of hiding. In the mountains of Quijo they captured six of the principal leaders of whom they made an example in order to instill terror into the others who might wish to imitate them.

3. In spite of these grave occurrences with the contrabandists, which necessarily affected the entire colony and deadened its progress, the illustrious señor Castañeda did not neglect his duties of a zealous pastor. The Indians of Darién continued quiet after the treaties celebrated by the illustrious Señor Morcillo with their chiefs; but that tranquillity did not inspire confidence, knowing the character of those Indians, and it was feared that at the most unforeseen time they would again revolt. Although missionaries had been sent to live among them

in order to keep them under submission, and authorities had been established to protect and support the missionaries, Señor Castañeda wished to give more stability and security to this mission for he did not consider it sufficiently quieting. He communicated his plans to the Superior of the Jesuit Fathers, proposing at the same time that they take charge of that enterprise. And those worthy priests who aspired to nothing beyond the extension of the Faith of Jesus Christ in all places, especially among the infidel, did not offer any objection but accepted willingly the difficult and painful mission.

4. In the treaties made with the chiefs Urinaquicha and Sauní the Bishop Sr. Morcillo had pledged himself to send them missionaries who should live among them, should build churches, instruct them, teach them to cultivate the land, train them in certain branches of industries and arts, establish schools for their children, etc., etc., and no one could better fulfill these pledges which corresponded to so many steps towards civilization than the Jesuit Fathers. The founding of the mission was arranged with Governor Alcedo; the means necessary for its success were taken and the priests were sent to settle among the savages. These brave missionaries worked with zeal and courage, succeeding in a short time in founding the Catechist Missions of Molineca, Balsas, Tucutí and Cupe. Some of them went even to the headwaters of the Chucunaque, while the others worked among the Indians of Caledonia and San Blas. But the enemy of souls found his way also among those savages in the person of perverse foreigners who suggested to them that the desire to convert them to Catholicism was only a means of enslaving them more easily, and incited them to the old hatred against the Spaniards. The Indians thus instigated began to prove themselves suspicious, wary, and diffident toward the missionaries, so that it made it very difficult for them to gather in even a few. In spite of the efforts of the priests to inspire them with confidence and make them see the falseness of what the adventurers told them, and notwithstanding the vigilance displayed by the authorities to prevent the entrance of these evil counsellors into the territory, the Indians continued intractable and ended by showing themselves openly hostile to the missionaries. To this was added a measles epidemic which developed among the natives, and the priests had to abandon the territory to the barbarity of its inhabitants. The illustrious Señor Castañeda was promoted to the See of Cuzco in 1749.

CHAPTER XXXI

1. Don Felipe Manrique de Lara, thirty-first Bishop of Panamá. Did not accept.
2. The service of galleons between Spain and the mainland is suppressed.
3. Father Francisco Javier de Luna Victoria y Castro, illustrious son of this city.
4. Qualities of Father Javier, his ordination, his duties.
5. Works and zeal of Father Javier de Luna Victoria. He founds the University of San Javier and entrusts it to the Jesuit Fathers.
6. Governor Alcedo resigns and he is replaced by Marshall Manuel Montiano.
7. Father Javier is named Treasurer of the Cathedral of Cartagena and then Bishop of Panamá.

1. The following year, 1750, the King proposed Presbyter Don Felipe Manrique de Lara, exemplary and illustrious Peruvian priest, native of Lima, for bishop of Panamá, but he did not accept.

2. The frequent piratical invasions in Portobelo and Panamá and the consequent losses to the crown and commerce, finally produced their effect. The merchants of Quito preferred in spite of the tremendous difficulties, to transport their merchandise by land as far as Cartagena, where they shipped them in Spanish galleons. From Quito to Cartagena, by land, traversing plains, enormous rivers and extensive swamps. It is scarcely credible! The Peruvian and Chilean merchants decided on the route of Cape Horn, which they found more comfortable, cheaper and even more rapid. Portobelo and Panamá were therefore, deprived of that active transport commerce, and those famous annual fairs which were wont to take place in the former of those towns, hundreds of individuals employed in this work were left without occupation, and a great number of families who gained their livelihood in this active and continual traffic were left destitute. The blow was very hard for the Isthmus,

and its fatal situation was further jeopardized by the step which the Court was forced to take in view of the circumstances, i.e. to suppress the service of numerous galleons which traded between the Peninsula and the Mainland. Decadence was soon felt. The last fleet of galleons, which left Callao in 1739, met Vernon's squadron which was attacking on Portobelo, and had to return to Guayaquil, where the merchants adopted the above mentioned plan, in order not to expose the cargoes to the pirates.

3. At this time there became known an illustrious son of this city, one of the most brilliant lights of Panamá, a model priest who left glorious impression in all the hierarchical fields to which his outstanding and indisputable merits raised him, until he reached the exalted position in which we will find him later. We refer to the noble Presbyter Doctor Francisco Javier de Luna Victoria y Castro, born in this city the second of December, 1695, and baptized the following day at the Baptistery of the Cathedral on the feast of San Francisco Xavier, whose name was given him. When we discuss the moving of the diocese of Trujillo in Perú, we will mention the document which has afforded the data concerning him.

4. Father Xavier, as he was commonly called, was distinguished as one of those rare priests on account of his purely ecclesiastical life, essentially sacerdotal, who lives only for his ministry, who is interested only in that which pertains exclusively to the Church, and who, according to the maxim of the Apostle, does everything for everyone in order to win all to Christ. Adequately educated in the schools of the city, and having made his studies in Theology in the Seminary, he was ordained and soon his marked intelligence was made known. Once ordained and understanding fully the nobility of his mission, especially in those days so lacking in evangelical workers, his zeal and ardor knew no bounds.

Always humble, obedient and submissive to his superiors, pious, active, diligent and enterprising in the ministries entrusted to him, he soon gained the respect and confidence of the former as well as the appreciation, esteem and respect of all.

5. Among the many works of zeal which Father Xavier accomplished in this country one deserves special mention: the founding of the University which he financed with his own funds; i.e., he invested in it part of the inheritancy he had received

from his ancestry, for his disinterestedness and his detachment were known to all, and this foundation speaks eloquently of these two qualities. After having promoted various works of general interest not only of a religious character but also of a purely social character, desirous of ennobling his country by men competent in sciences, letters and law he conceived the idea of founding the university of which we have been speaking, in order to carry out this plausible object. Circumstances certainly favored him. The Jesuit Fathers had a good residence in the city and none better than they, could take charge of the projected foundation.

Father Xavier communicated to them his ideas and desires, they discussed the subject at length and they agreed upon the necessary basis to carry it out. An endowment was necessary for the maintenance of the establishment and Father Xavier pledged himself to furnish it out of his own resources fixing in due form the annual payments. Royal consent was necessary to insure its foundation and the energetic priest guaranteed its acquisition. He interested Governor Alcedo in the affair, who offered him all his support, and the Mitred Governor.

With the recommendations of these two magistrates he addressed to the Court his request for the desired authorization. The king sent on the third of June, 1749, the Royal Edict by which he commanded the establishment in the building of the Society of Jesus, in Panamá, of the University of Saint Xavier, whose chairs of Latin, Rhetoric and Moral Theology were endowed by the private means of Father Javier Luna Victoria, according to the agreement. Said university was authorized to grant the degrees of Bachelor, Master and Licenciante of Philosophy and Theology. Its first Rector was Father Hernando de Caveno, who had come expressly from Quito for this purpose.

6. Governor Alcedo, because of differences with the members of the Council, resigned his office in 1749 and was succeeded by Marshal Manuel Montiano.

7. The extraordinary powers of Father Javier Luna Victoria, his zeal and enthusiasm for anything which was, or might be of utility or advantage to the colony, influenced the Spanish monarch to select him as Treasurer of the Cathedral of Cartagena, in which position he cooperated in every way with the confidence placed in him, and gave new proofs of his intelligence and administrative tact. He was in that city fulfilling said office

when his appointment as bishop of Panamá arrived. Faithful to the submission and obedience which he had always professed for the Holy See and the King, he went to that city to take up the new duties assigned to him.

CHAPTER XXXII

1. Don Francisco Javier de Luna Victoria y Castro, thirty-second Bishop of Panamá. He urges on the work of the Cathedral.
2. New disagreements among the Judges of the Audiencia. The Audiencia is suppressed in Panamá.
3. Boundary of Tierra Firme. Territorial Division.
4. Decay of the colony. Further uprising of the Darién Indians. Destruction of the fort of San Rafael de Terable. Civilizing of the Indians of Veraguas. Founding of Río Jesús.
5. Small fire.
6. Ancient Orthography. Prelates in transit through Panamá.
7. Document concerning the removal of Señor Victoria to Trujillo.
8. Record of the visit of the illustrious Señor Luna Victoria.

1. A noble son of this city, who by his virtues and merits was worthy of having the Spanish king look upon him with favor and to propose him for Bishop of this important See of Tierra Firme, was Presbyter don Francisco Javier de Luna Victoria y Castro. He came from Cartagena to occupy the See of his country on the fifteenth of August, 1751. His first care on taking the pastoral staff was to advance the work of the Cathedral which, previous to his being Bishop, when he held the office of General Collector and Superintendent of the building, he had greatly encouraged. The alms collected and the revenues assigned to the work not being nearly sufficient, he helped the progress of construction during his entire episcopal administration with his own funds, succeeding in leaving the Cathedral almost completed when he was removed to Trujillo.

2. In spite of the measures taken by the Court to prevent new discords among the judges of the Audiencia, they recurred, causing the already known disturbances and discontent of which we have made mention in other pages of this history. We have

already seen that by the royal edict of the twentieth of August, 1739, the provinces of Panamá and Veraguas, with all their cities, towns and villages were incorporated with the Viceroyship of Nueva Granada and the Audiencia was subordinate to that of Santafé but preserving their privileges in matters purely local. The Court desirous of putting an end to these contentions, and moreover not seeing the urgent necessity of maintaining an Audiencia on Tierra Firme, considering the increased and indispensable expense which it demanded, ordered it by royal edict on the twentieth of June, 1751, to be suppressed, leaving the colony under the jurisdiction of the Viceroyship of Nueva Granada. Don Manuel Montiano, as representative of the Viceroy continued as its governor.

3. The boundaries of Tierra Firme, at the epoch of which we speak, were from the Atrato to the General Captaincy of Guatemala (it is supposed that they were the same as those which to-day divide Panamá from Costa Rica, for it is believed that that capital extended that far). It was divided into four provinces; i.e.: Panamá, Portobelo, Darién and Veraguas. That of Panamá contained two cities, Panamá and Natá, one town, that of Los Santos, six smaller towns and fourteen villages, with a population of 7856 inhabitants, excluding Indians and slaves. That of Portobelo was composed of the city of the same name, the town of Palenque, inhabited by free negroes, the mines of Santa Rita and the Venta de Boquerón. It had 1,262 inhabitants. That of Darién was composed of the towns of Santa Cruz de Caña, El Real de Santa María, Chepigana and Cupe. It had many other hamlets with a population of about 3,000 inhabitants. Finally the province of Veraguas had three cities, Santiago, Remedios and Alanje, and fifty-one hamlets with 4,952 inhabitants.

4. The suppression of the fleet of galleons which sustained traffic with Spain, as well as of the Audiencia of Panamá, necessarily had to produce the decadence of the Kingdom of Tierra Firme. That commercial activity of former days disappeared, being followed by inactivity and penury, obliging many families to emigrate in search of work and livelihood. The ports of Panamá and Portobelo were almost deserted, occasionally a ship was seen anchored in the beautiful bays where in former years abounded galleons from the different points along the coast of the continent and from Spain. Commerce was reduced to the mini-

num of that which was strictly necessary to satisfy the needs of those who were unable and ought not to emigrate. One would have believed that agriculture and mining would have then increased. That the colonists would have devoted themselves to these industries in place of the commerce which had completely disappeared; but no, these industries also declined, as was natural, the affluence of the foreigners being so completely allied to the capital and the fairs of Portobelo. They were not completely destroyed but were reduced to next to nothing. Darién, so rich and fertile a region, offered fewer inducements than ever for colonizing or continuing to live there. In 1750 there was a terrible uprising of Indians, who stabbed to death the inhabitants of some of the towns which still remained, and the following year went as far as the vicinity of Chepo, where they destroyed the fort of San Rafael de Terable. In 1754 the savages revolted again against a French colony which had the courage to settle on the Coast of Caledonia, trusting in the protection of the Government, which arrived late, for the poor colonists surprised by the Indians were defeated before any help could reach them. The Indians Chucunaques, who inhabited the headwaters of the river of that name, and on whose right bank is now situated Yaviza, also rebelled that same year, doubtlessly in harmony with the Darién Indians of the East, and falling upon the town, mercilessly killed the inhabitants. Conditions were very different in the province of Veraguas, because those Indians, although frequently made hostile by their enemies, the Mosquite Indians, were yielding to the preaching of the Gospel and were being converted to a civilized life. In the time of the illustrious Señor Luna Victoria (1755) the town of Río Jesús was founded between the towns of Santiago, Montijo, Soná and La Mesa.

5. On the twenty-first of March, 1756, another fire occurred in the city, in a southeasterly direction on the seashore; it destroyed many houses and the convents of San Francisco, of the Conception Nuns, of Santo Domingo, and the Church of Saint Philip Neri, which were situated in this district. When a fire of this kind took place, it spread easily with a rapidity aided by the breeze which ordinarily blows over the city from the sea, and because in those days the houses were low and the great majority of them had straw roofs. Add to this the primitive method of firefighting then in use, due to the lack of fire hose and their

proper installation and you will understand that if the city was not entirely burned down it was due more to Providence than to any other cause. Thanks to God the fire did not reach the "Plaza de Armas" on whose sides were built the Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral and so these two splendid edifices suffered no harm. The losses caused were considerable, for the fire was great; however, as it did not reach the proportions of the other of February second, 1737, during the bishopric of the illustrious Señor Don Pedro Morcillo Rubio y Auñón, it was called the "small" fire to distinguish it from the former.

6. In the book of Baptisms pertaining to the Parish of the Secretary of the Cathedral, and corresponding to the years 1753-1759 are recorded various lists of Confirmations administered by the illustrious Señor Luna Victoria in the Chapel of his Palace. The spelling of that epoch alone merits our attention. For the sake of interest and comparison with that of to-day's we quote a short excerpt. (Refer to Mss. p. 995. pan. 6.)

We note that our ancestors did not bother very much to determine whether a word should be spelled with an s or c, with b or v, with a capital or small letter, whether it should be accented or not, whether a letter should be double or single, but they wrote as words sounded, one letter was as good as another, provided it produced the desired sound. What simplicity! What naturalness! It is worth noting that not even twenty per cent of these people in those days scarcely knew how to scribble. It is very probable that each one wrote as he pronounced, and hence there were as many spellings as individuals, as may be inferred from the ancient manuscripts; so that from a document in which "z" abounds, one can without fear of being mistaken deduce that the writer was a "zopas" (a person who unnecessarily lisps his "s" like a "z"). We find in the the same book other lists of Confirmations administered by the Illustrious señores don Bernardo Urbina y Ugarte, Bishop of Trujillo in 1755, and Friar Mateo Jose de Navia Bolaños, Bishop of Nicaragua in 1755, who were in the city in transit, and to whom as is the custom among Prelates, Bishop Sr. Luna Victoria ceded the honor, inviting them to replace him in the august ceremony, proper and jurisdictional to the Diocesan Bishop.

7. In the same book of Baptisms referred to, a note is found inserted by the Parish Priest of the Sagrario in which he

mentions the date in which Bishop Sr. Luna Victoria was transferred to the Bishopric of Trujillo. It reads thus: "In the city of Panamá of the kingdom of Tierra Firme, new Castilla del Oro, on the tenth of March, 1759, I, Francis Javier Vicente del Bosque, y Gonzales, Lawyer of the Real Audiencia of Quito and of the Prisoners of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, General Assessor of the Holy Crusade, Synodal Examiner of this Bishopric, and weekly Priest in the Sanctuary of this Cathedral Church, testify that at eleven o'clock at night of the mentioned day, the tenth, the Ill. señor doctor don Francisco Javier de Luna Victoria, his grace the Bishop of this holy Church, baptized at its font 1695 A. D., sailed from the wharf of the sea port to the city of Trujillo in the kingdom of Perú, to which church and bishopric he was worthily promoted; having begun to govern the church of Panamá, his own country, between the ages of fifty-five and fifty-six and having ruled it gloriously seven years and seven months; for one year previous to his consecration and the others after. He was appointed by his Majesty Treasurer of the Cathedral Church of Cartagena de Indias, which position he was holding when the favor was conferred upon him by his Majesty, of the appointment to the Bishopric of the said city of Panamá, in which he had only the duties of General Collector, Superintendent of Building and Illustrious prebendary *at his own expense* of the Cathedral. That it may be known to posterity I make this note. (Signed) Xavier Vicente del Bosque y González."

8. We have found only one letter in the book of Baptisms of Alanje inserted by the Ill. señor Luna Victoria, during the pastoral visit which he made to that parish, in which he corrects the abuse of the priests of his day in absenting themselves from their parish for a longer time than is permitted by the Canons; he orders the faithful, especially the Indians, not to go to the head parish to celebrate the feasts, as this custom had many drawbacks, but instead the missionary priests were to celebrate them in the hermitages of the respective missions, even though on this account the feasts of the Head Parish would be less solemn; he recommends the teaching of Catechism at hours convenient to the people and especially to the Indians, and even threatened with censure the priests negligent in this matter; he recommends also preaching in the towns of white people; orders the Vicars to gather, at least twice a year in the vicarage, the missionary priests under

their jurisdiction, and to hold a review of Moral Theology in the manner of debates which were similar to the moral theology conferences which formerly were held in all the dioceses of the world; he corrects the abuse of delaying the celebration of marriages without sufficient cause, and orders that after publishing the last bans the contracting parties should be obliged to marry as soon as possible; lastly, he explains the doctrines of the canon in regard to the sale of ecclesiastical property, and gives the rules which should be observed on this point. The Ill. Señor Luna Victoria died in Trujillo the eleventh of March, 1777.

CHAPTER XXXIII

1. Don Manuel Jerónimo de Romaní y Carrillo, thirty-third Bishop of Panamá.
2. Blessing of the Cathedral.
3. First baptism in the new Cathedral.
4. Publication of some indulgences.

1. The Ill. Señor Don Manuel Jerónimo de Romaní y Carrillo, native of Guamanga, occupied this See in 1759 and governed it until 1763 when he was transferred to the Cathedral of Cuzco.

2. During his episcopacy took place the blessing of the Cathedral of New Panamá, which by this time was completely finished, as may be seen by the following document which is found in the Archives of the Cathedral: "On the first day of December 1762 took place the blessing of the Cathedral Church of this city, commenced in the section of the principal chapel, by the Ill. Señor Don Diego Ladrón de Guevara, and continued by the Ill. Señor Doctor Don Pedro Morcillo and lately by Señor Dr. Francisco Javier de Luna y Victoria. They were both bishops of this city, and the latter a native of the city and today prelate of the Holy Church in Trujillo; and the second day of said month the Blessed Sacrament was placed there, brought in public procession from the Church of Saint Joseph of the Barefoot Augustinians. This Church served as Cathedral, for from the second of February of the year 1737 in which the city suffered a general conflagration including the Cathedral which was built of wood, it had not been restored, and at first they occupied the Church of Saint Anne, parish outside the walls, afterwards the Church of the Oratory of Saint Philip which was rebuilt after the fire of that date. This Church was again destroyed on the thirty-first of March of the year 56 by a fire which occurred in that section of the city; because of this the Cathedral was moved to the Church of Convent Hospital of San Juan de Dios, and from there to the

above mentioned church of Saint Joseph, and thus when the installation of the church was completed there was a celebration with solemn feasts and sermons attended by the Judges, the University of Saint Francis Xavier on their respective days, the clergy and people from the second of that month until the fifteenth, on which day was concluded the solemn octave of the Immaculate Conception, which was united by continuation to the festivals of the new Dedication, and on the twenty-first day of the same month was consecrated the first water in the new Baptismal font, the first baptism administered there was the one which appears in the record preceeding this note which I quote as a memoir of the information which it contains. (Signed) MATEO BETANCOURT."

3. The Baptismal record to which the preceeding document refers was that of a girl named María Lucía del Sacramento who was born on the thirteenth of that month of the year 1762, legitimate daughter of Don Andrés Pardo and Doña Josefa Gregoria de Otálora, both Spanish. Although the document which preceeds seems to indicate that the work of construction of the Cathedral began in the time of the Bishop Sr. Don Diego Ladrón de Guevara, it is not authentic, for already the Bishop Señor Don Antonio de León who had chosen the site, had commenced the excavations for the foundations, and the Ill. Sr. Piedrahita had also done something to advance them. This agrees with what the document says "commenced in the section of its principal chapel," which was the one built with greatest haste in order to be able to celebrate in it the Divine Office.

4. Of the Episcopacy of the Ill. Señor Romaní we find only, in addition to the quoted document, a note in the book of Baptisms of the parish of Alanje corresponding to the year 1763 in which the Priest records having published three plenary indulgences granted by His Holiness Benedict XIV to the diocese of Tierra Firme during any three days that the Bishop might choose. The days chosen by Señor Romaní were the feast of Saint James the Apostle, the Immaculate Conception, and the Patriarch Saint Joseph. One may note from this circumstance as well as from the fact of having combined the celebration of the Dedication of the Cathedral to the Octave of the Immaculate Conception, the devotion which already, so many years before the declaration of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by Pius IX, existed

among the Christian people of both continents for that adorable mystery. We also call attention to the devotion to Saint Joseph of which those Christian people also gave proof and what was true here, may be said also of the rest of the colonies of the Spanish Crown and throughout the Catholic world.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1. Don Miguel Moreno y Ollo, thirty-fourth Bishop of Panamá.
2. Blessing of St. Anne Church.
3. Expulsion of the Jesuits. Testimonies against the decree of expulsion.
4. Causes which motivated the decree.
5. Consequences of French Philosophy.
6. Text of the decree of expulsion.
7. It is communicated to all the authorities of the kingdom. Instructions of the count of Aranda.
8. Execution of the decree in Panamá.
9. Lamentable consequences of the irregular decree.

1. The See being vacant due to the removal of Señor Don Manuel Jerónimo de Romaní y Carrillo to the Bishopric of Cuzco, Doctor Miguel Moreno y Ollo native of Panamá was promoted to it. He was Dean of the Cathedral, commissary of the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Cartagena, Synodal Examiner of the Bishopric, Royal Apostolic Judge, Sub-delegate to the Holy Crusade and Vicar-General and Governor of the Diocese during the vacancy, and assumed government of it about the middle of 1763.

2. The Church of Santa Ana, without the walls, which served as a parish and was under construction, was finished in 1763 remaining in the condition in which it stands today except for the improvements made upon it in later years. Señor Moreno y Ollo arranged that its solemn blessing should take place on the twentieth of January of the following year (1764). To this ceremony an immense crowd came from the neighboring towns. The Place of honor during the Blessing as well as during the Solemn High Mass and in the procession was given to Señor Don Izaguirre and Ibarzábal, who had reconstructed with his own funds the historic temple, meriting by his own piety and generosity that the king confer upon him the noble title of Count of Santa Ana.

3. For the Ill. Señor Moreno y Ollo was reserved the grief of seeing promulgated in his diocese the famous decree of Chas. III of the twenty-seventh of February 1767, by which there were banished from all his dominions the Priests of the Society of Jesus. Through this ill advised act the fathers of families were deprived of the best educational source for their sons; youth of its best teachers, missions of their most active workers, families of their best advisers, and the poor of a great support in their necessities. With that famous coup d'Etat, in one hour were destroyed all those benefits, by the destruction of the eminently civilizing Society of Jesus. "The human race," says Lalande, astronomer, unbeliever, philosopher, lost forever that priceless and wonderful society of twenty thousand indefatigable and disinterested individuals occupied in instruction, preaching, in missions, in reconciliations, in the help of the dying; in a word in the most precious and useful acts towards humanity." "A blow which was felt throughout the world and which shook Catholicism from its foundation to the spheres where are formed future generations," says Leopold Ranke, a German Protestant. "The most tyrannic act that can be accomplished," exclaims Lally Tollandal, a protestant writer, "whence resulted general disorder which every injustice brings, and especially did it open a fatal wound in our public education."

4. Such are the testimonies which even the enemies of Catholicism gave concerning such a criminal act, and to which could be added those of Catholic writers who as one man rose to protest against such an iniquity. The evil had taken root at an earlier date. Protestantism from the XVIth. century had falsified the principle of authority, making the Catholic Pontificate the target of its attacks: in order to defend that principle, which was the preserver of public order, God brought into being the Society of Ignatius Loyola which in its plan and in its prudent management comprised all the means and elements necessary to face an enemy who, in attacking the authority of the Church, would carry out the principle to the extreme consequences. "The Jesuits," says Leopold Ranke, "were destroyed especially because they defended the extreme doctrine of the Supremacy of the Pope;" and Juan Muller, also a protestant writer, adds: "Fore-sighted men did not delay in seeing that by depriving the Holy See

of its firmest supports, one of the principal supports not only of spiritual but temporal authority, was at the same time shaken." "So," adds Groot, "We consider the attack made on the Jesuits not only as aimed at a religious institution, but also at a social institution of the highest importance in checking the action of disrupting principles which false philosophy, the result of Protestantism, tried to propagate in order to encourage rebellion against all orderly government. The ruin, therefore, of this company, which Voltaire called the Guard de Corps of the Pope was necessarily of great importance to the enemies of the Church and the throne."

5. This was not understood in Europe until the head of Louis XVI rolled on the guillotine, and the crown fell from the head of Ferdinand VII of Spain and in regard to its effect on the latter nation, let us hear what Andrés Muriel has to say in his work entitled *Reign of King Don Carlos III*, Paris, 1838: "The truth is that the sect protected by the Duke of Choiseul having tried its strength and gained triumphs against the Jesuits, did not feel satisfied nor secure until the work was consummated with their expulsion from the dominions of the King of Spain, and knowing the affection which Charles III professed for the princes of his family, and for the King of France in particular it was easy for him to influence the protecting minister to request it. It was not difficult for the Spanish Ministers to convert thoughts into deeds, they did not have great difficulty in persuading the King. The Count of Aranda, on his part, worked earnestly for the same purpose, not on account of theological principles nor for love of ancient ecclesiastical discipline, but on account of his intimate friendship with the encyclopedists." Of this impious minister Aranda, the protestant Schoell says: "Overpowered by the incense which the French philosophers burned before him, he considered no glory greater than that of being numbered among the enemies of Religion and Thrones." Such were the enemies of the Jesuits.

6. The unjust decree was published then in the Prado, the tenor of which is as follows: "Royal Decree. Having agreed with the opinion of the members of my royal council in the extraordinary session which was held because of the previous agreements in conference the twenty-ninth of January past; and what people of the highest character have told me of it: stimulated by

grave causes relative to the obligation invested in me to keep my people in subordination, tranquillity and justice, and other urgent just and necessary causes which I reserve as my royal privilege, using the supreme authority which the Almighty has vested in my hands for the protection of my subjects and the honor of my crown: I have ordered to have banished from all my dominions of Spain, the Indies and Philippine Islands and adjacent lands, the religious of the Society of Jesus, priests as well as assistants or lay-brothers who have taken their first vows, and the novices who might wish to follow them; and that all revenues of the Society in my dominion be appropriated; and for a uniform accomplishment in all these places I give you full and special authority to draw up the necessary instructions and orders, which you may consider necessary for its most effective, rapid and peaceful fulfillment, and I wish not only the judges and superior tribunals of these kingdoms to carry out your orders carefully, but that the same be done with mandates which you address to the Viceroy, Presidents, Audiencias, Governors, Mayors, Chief Justices, and any other administrations of justice of those kingdoms and provinces; and that by virtue of their respective requirements, all troops, or citizens give the necessary aid, without delay or evasion, the culprit being liable to my royal indignation; and I charge provincial fathers, *prepositos*, rectors and other superiors of the Society to conform willingly to what they are advised and they will be treated with the greatest decency, attention, humanity and help; so that in all things you will proceed according to my sovereign intention. Let this be understood for exact compliance, as I trust and hope from your zeal, activity and love for my royal service; and you will give the necessary orders and instructions for it, enclosing copies of this my royal decree to which, signed by you, will be given as much faith and credit as to the original, marked by the royal hand. In El Prado, the twenty-seventh of February, 1767.—Count de Aranda, President of the Council. This is a copy of the original which his Majesty has communicated to me. Madrid, first of March, 1767.—Count de Aranda."

7. In harmony with the provisions of this decree, Count of Aranda, president of the Council, communicated it to all the superior authorities of the monarchy together with private instructions drawn up by him, and a letter written by the King himself

for its execution. In these instructions, models of jealousy and malice, the executors were prepared with every imaginable means so that not even one Jesuit, nor a penny, nor a document might escape. They were forced even to use falsehood and deceit which did little favor to the Government of the monarchy. The secrecy with which the decree was carried out, and the care in the means which had to be adopted for its fulfillment are clear proofs of the popularity of the Jesuits and the great influence which they had among the people, and as in reality those actually harmed were the latter, they feared, and not without foundation, an uprising to prevent their expulsion. For why was it necessary to take such minute and detailed measures to expel from his dominions a religious community which in some places did not number more than four individuals?

8. Doctor Joaquín Cabrejo was then governor of Panamá, and it was he who received the documents which contained the expulsion and instructions given by the Count of Aranda. In accordance with what they contained Cabrejo kept absolute secrecy concerning the affair in order to insure the efficacy of the blow, without alarming the people. At dawn on the second of August when the town was in complete silence and sleeping profoundly, the Governor accompanied by the Military Chief of the city and quite a large troop of soldiers, secretly surrounded the Convent of the Jesuits, entered it cautiously, knocked at the doors of the cells of the priests, who full of astonishment, not understanding the reason for such an untimely invasion at night into their convent, asked for explanations. Cabrejo with all possible civility begged the Rector to bring together the members of the Community in order to carry out his just demand, and when they assembled in the hall, in the presence of all he read the royal decree declaring that in obedience to its contents he took possession of the building and all that was contained in it. He added that from that moment all the members of the community were prisoners until further orders, being permitted to remain in their convent as such. The Priests, although deeply impressed offered no resistance to the royal mandate. Everything was accomplished with the greatest secrecy and promptness; but this did not prevent on the following day, the circulation of rumors in the city concerning what had occurred the preceding night, seeing that Holy Mass had not been said in the Church of the Society and that the Convent

was closed. The rumors developed into gossip and from this resulted restlessness of spirit which forced the Governor to hasten the expulsion of the Religious. In fact, six days later, on the twenty-eighth of August the Fathers and Brothers, nine in number, left escorted by soldiers to Portobelo, where they were embarked in a brig which had been equipped in all haste, en route to Cartagena where they were to join those who left New Granada for Europe in virtue of the same unjust decree.

9. This fatal event just as it had filled the city with consternation was also a cause of deep sorrow to the Bishop Señor Moreno y Ollo who esteemed in a high degree the worthy sons of Saint Ignatius. To the great personal esteem which he professed for them was added the harm which on account of their banishment, the labors confided to such remarkable workers would suffer. The University of San Xavier had to shut its halls immediately and the youth who were educated in it having no longer neither the direction nor the support of such wise instructors, deteriorated rapidly; the hospital and asylums felt the want of the beneficent influence of these charitable priests; society in general deplored the absence of so powerful an element of morality and order as were the Jesuits with their preaching and exercise of their sacred ministry; the clergy lost ready and efficacious helpers in the difficult and important task of saving souls; finally, the dire consequences of the lamentable decree were not long in being felt with all their intensity, and bitterness. The last record of Confirmation administered in the Cathedral by Bishop Sr. Moreno y Ollo has the date of the fifteenth of May, 1769, which inclines us to believe that at the end of this year or at the beginning of the next he was moved to his new bishopric at Guamanga.

CHAPTER XXXV

1. Friar Francisco de los Ríos y Armengol, thirty-fifth Bishop of Panamá.
2. Friar Antonio Margil. Miracles attributed to him.
3. Founding of Las Palmas and of San Carlos de Chirú. Document of the founding of Las Palmas.
4. The Ill. Señor Doctor Don Rafael Lasso de la Vega. Brief biographical note.
5. Pacification of the Darién Indians. Founding of Cupe, Molineca and Tichiche. Forts in Yaviza, Chepigana, Cana and El Real.
6. Invasion of the Mosquito Indians.
7. Death of the Ill. Señor Friar Francisco de los Ríos y Armengol.

1. Bishop Moreno y Ollo was succeeded by Friar Francisco de los Ríos y Armengol, a Dominican religious, native of Porcuna in Andalucía, who came to govern the diocese in 1770.

2. As the colony by this time was enjoying peace, special impetus was given all conversions of the Indians. Friar Antonio Margil, a religious of rare zeal and marked sanctity was one of the apostles to whom the province of Veraguas owes its faith and religion. Many miracles are recorded as being performed by this sainted man in his apostolic missions; we shall refer to one which still is fresh in the memory of the inhabitants of the province. Friar Antonio was on his way from the province of Veraguas to that of Chiriquí accompanied by some Indians and was forced to spend the night on the banks of the river Tabasará. The territory which he had to traverse was completely solitary and wild, inhabited only by wild beasts. He had with him a small donkey on which he had placed the valises, which formed his only baggage, including personal belongings and religious articles, the animal being led by a halter through those tangled and rough places. When they had arrived at the river's edge almost at nightfall, they decided to spend the night under one of the trees to await the fol-

lowing day in order not to endanger themselves by trying to ford it in the dark. The Indians led the donkey to a little plain not far from the spot they had chosen to spend the night, in which there was plenty of grass and left it tied. Early next morning two of them went in search of the donkey; but they soon returned, terrified, saying that a tiger was devouring him. On hearing this Friar Antonio who was reading his Breviary, rose and went to the plain, and found that in fact, an enormous tiger was devouring his donkey. He approached the beast and said, "Why have you eaten my donkey? How shall I manage now to carry the load that he carried for me? There is no way out of it: you will have to carry it", and leading him by the ear he took him to the place in which they had spent the night, saddled him, put on him the small load; they crossed the river in a makeshift raft and they continued the journey, Friar Antonio himself leading the tiger by the halter, for the Indians terrified followed at a great distance. When they had arrived at the first hamlet of the province of Chiriquí where he was able to get another beast of burden, he freed the tiger which returned peacefully to the forest.

3. During the episcopacy of Sr. Ríos y Armengol, there took place the founding of two towns; i. e., San Marcelo de Las Palmas and San Carlos De Chirú. Of the former we find a record in a note which is recorded in the book of Baptisms of the parish of Las Palmas corresponding to the year 1765. It reads as follows: "On completing this book which I opened on the first of January, 1763, and which I close and file today the thirty-first of December, 1765, I wish to give to posterity an important or rather curious item which will express the epoch in which was established the parish of Las Palmas. In this place they conceived the pious idea of founding a town. It was the site of the parish of La Mesa and was called Las Palmas on account of the many Pacora, Royal, Maguengues and other palms which were naturally produced in that soil, and which the Reverend Reducto Fathers knew very well, as this section was the road which they traversed frequently on their way to the towns of Chiriquí, where they fulfilled the sacred mission of propagating the Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ to the infidel savages, dwellers of our Northern sierra. This they pursued so enthusiastically that the very year of its initiation they carried out the idea by asking the necessary permission from the political and temporal authority. This having been granted in the

year 1772, the Reverend Fathers set out for said place, built a chapel out of palms at the site where stands today the pantheon, and they celebrated Holy Mass in this chapel on the eighth day of February, 1773. The Mass was celebrated by Friar Benito Bosch, and from that day he continued to build the mission town as in those already mentioned. In this year with the income of the Royal Treasury a fine church was commenced and also a convent for the Priests; and all was built with such magnificence that the buildings were completed as beautiful as is possible in our country. Here was established the dwelling of the Rev. Father Director who was called Friar Francisco Javier Vidal and on the eighth of December 1775, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, Patroness of this town, the first mass was celebrated in the new church. The ceremony was presided over by the above mentioned director and Rev. Father José Cuchi preached the sermon. After the town was established, from the province of Veraguas, field of Cañazas, they brought seven families to increase the population and they were Pinedas, Rodríguez, Santos, Bonillas, Pérez, Mejías and González. With these and the former inhabitants of the towns, the Reverend Fathers began their task of drawing the Indians from the Sierra and to convert and civilize them. They progressed rapidly in their work, for when they left the town on the first of March 1804, the date when this town of San Buenaventura de las Palmas was established into a parish under the direction of the Padres Reductores, and under the direction of the college of the Deputy Prefect of Missions, Friar Francisco Javier Vidal, and he turned it over to his substitute priest Don Francisco Nolasco de Arancibia. This town was completely inhabited by Christian natives, instructed in Christian doctrine; they fulfilled strictly the duties of our sacred religion as well as those prescribed by morality. They had peace and were happy. This data which I have been able to acquire from the testimony of the elders of this parish as well as from a letter of Rev. Father Friar Benito Bosch dated the ninth of February 1773, addressed to Father Friar N. Galindo, in the twenty-three years which I am going to complete as pastor of this parish and eventually of administering to those of Tolé and Soná, I believe them authentic and in good faith I record them in this book. My more worthy successors will be more indulgent and will accept the knowledge I leave them without considering the crude way in

which I express it. The list of priests who lived in the convent of Las Palmas propagating the Catholic Religion and working in the vineyard of the Lord is: Friar Francisco Javier Vidal, of the Rule of our Father San Francisco, General Apostolic Preacher, Ex-rector of the College of the Propagation of the Faith in Panamá, Synodal Examiner and Judge of Councils of the Bishop and Deputy Prefect of Missions, Friar Manuel Orta, Friar José Cuchí, Friar Antonio Persenal, Friar Santiago Mayol, Friar Juan Riva, Friar Francisco Mir, Friar Tomás Villalta, Friar Manuel Molina, Friar Joaquín Solta. All had the title of apostolic preachers. Las Palmas thirty-first of December, 1765. Signed and sealed.—Enrique Palacios."

4. A great man who does great honor to Panamá is Rev. Señor Doctor Don Rafael Lasso de la Vega. He came into the world at the time of the Ill. Señor Ríos y Armengol. This is what we said of him in No. 11 of our Ecclesiastical Review of the fifteenth of March 1915: "The Illustrious and Reverend Señor Don Rafael Lasso de la Vega, fifth bishop of Mérida (Venezuela), was born in Santiago of Veraguas the twenty-sixth of October, 1774. He was the legitimate son of Captain Feliciano Lasso de la Vega and Doña Estefana de la Rosa Lombardo; he was baptized by Father José Lombardo, Parish Priest of that Church, Captain Agustín Núñez del Arco and Doña Juana Josefa Joaquina Lombardo being the godparents. The priests therefore who baptized him and the godmother were uncle and aunt of the child, brother and sister of Doña Estefana. Señor Lasso de la Vega studied in the College of Our Lady of the Rosary in Santafé de Bogotá. He was pastor of that parish and likewise Doctoral Canon of the Metropolitana Church. Afterwards he was named choir leader of the Cathedral of Panamá. Named by the king for the Bishopric of Mérida, the nineteenth of October, 1814, he was proclaimed on the eighth of March 1815, and reached Maracaibo on the nineteenth of October of the same year. He went by land to Bogotá, passing through Mérida and Pamplona and paid the pastoral visit in the intervening towns. In San Cristóbal he received the bulls on the third of October, 1816. He was consecrated in Bogotá by the Illustrious Archbishop doctor Juan Bautista Sacristán on the eleventh of December of that same year. He established his residence in Maracaibo as was agreed, although the removal was actual but only temporary. There he built the Cathedral and

seminary and also reconstructed the Seminary of Mérida destroyed by the earthquake of the twenty-sixth of March of 1812. Four times he visited the entire diocese and convoked and presided over two synods. During the war of Independence he followed with resolute spirit, the cause of the King until the last days of 1820. In 1821, with the same courage of his convictions, he embraced the cause of the Republic and explained the reason for it in a brilliant work entitled "Conduct of the Bishop of Mérida." He was chosen by Maracaibo for the Congress of El Rosario de Cúcuta in 1821, and attended as Senator all the following Congresses until the year 1826, making a brilliant defense of the rights of the Church. He established relations between the Holy See and the Republic of Colombia.

He obtained from the Holy See the office and Mass of Our Lady of Chiquinquirá and the beatification of Santa Mariana de Jesús Paredes, called the Lily of Quito.

On the 15th. of December, 1828, he was transferred by His Holiness Leo XII to the bishopric of Quito, and on the 3rd of September, 1828, he set out for his new diocese, Friar Doctor Buenaventura Arias who had been his coadjutor remaining in Mérida as Apostolic Vicar. In spite of his advanced age and great labors, Sr. Dr. Lasso displayed in the diocese of Quito the same activity which he had shown in that of Mérida. Advanced in years and having attained great merit he passed away in Quito on the 4th. of April, 1831.

The Most Reverend Lasso de la Vega was a man of great learning, a bishop of prodigious activity and above all of extraordinary virtues. Tradition recounts of his deeds which may be esteemed miraculous, and lately about the year 1904 upon proceeding to modify his tomb in order to construct it more artistically, his corpse was found in a state of good preservation, so much so that it could be robed anew in pontifical, and piously deposited in another coffin."

5. While Don Nicolás Quijano was governor ad interim of the kingdom, attempt was made anew to pacify the Indians of Darién. Already for some time back, energetic measures for this purpose had been taken, which resulted in that the Indians perceiving themselves continually hostilized by the Spaniards, at last resolved of their own will to place themselves under the protection of the government of the King. With this in view their chief,

by the name of Bartolomé Estrada, entered into negotiations with the authorities, agreeing that the tribes instead of living dispersed would group themselves in towns, in order that the beneficial protection of the government might be exercised over them. There were formed therefore, the towns of Cupe, Molineca and Tichiche. However some of the chiefs, who lived towards the headwaters of the Chucunaque and near the coast of San Blas, did not accept the pact and they remained enemies of those who had acquiesced. In order to protect the latter against the outrages and aggressions of the former, strongholds were built in Yaviza, Chepigana, Cana and El Real. This did not prevent said rebellious Indians from assaulting in 1775, the mining settlement of Pásiga, where 450 persons were working, but of whom only 50 escaped, among them the missionary priests.

6. The Mosquito Indians continued molesting by their invasions along the Atlantic shore, not only the inhabitants of the province of Chiriquí, but also those of Veraguas. In 1775 it was known that a large number of them had disembarked at different points along the coast and were purporting to make a violent attack against the latter of these provinces; this obliged the governor to form a corps of regular militia to go forth and attack them; but in the end the projected invasion did not materialize.

7. The Most Reverend Ríos y Armengol died in Panamá on the 17th. of November, 1776, as appears in the death certificate recorded in the book corresponding to that year, which is found in the archives of the Clerical Court. It says thus: "In the city of Panamá, the 19th. of November, in the year 1776. I, Dr. Don Francisco Antonio de Torres, Synodal Examiner of this Bishopric, Notary of the Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, Pastor of this Holy Cathedral Church, state that on this day there took place the burial of the body of the most Illustrious and Rev. Friar Francisco de los Ríos y Armengol of the Order of Preachers, very worthy bishop of this kingdom of Tierra Firme, of the Council of his Majesty—native of Porcuna, diocese of Jaén in Andalucía, who died on the 17th. day of said month at the age of 56 years and two months, with full ceremony, cope, incensory, double coffin, tolling of bells, and under escort, burial in the vault of the Brotherhood of Saint Peter, attended by the Venerable Gentlemen, the Dean and Chapter and all the Clergy, and Re-

ligious Communities, Solemn Requiem Mass with the body present, the funeral services having preceded in his Episcopal Palace, in the order and form prescribed by the ceremonial of the bishops. His Grace the Bishop received the Holy Sacrament of Penance, the Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction. He left no will. And for certification I sign this document.—Dr. Francisco Antonio de Torres.”

CHAPTER XXXVI

1. Ill. Sr. Don José Antonio de Umeres Miranda, 36th. Bishop of Panamá.
2. Ill. Sr. Don Blas Sobrino y Minayo, Bishop of Cartagena, passes through Panamá. Record of the visit of Sr. Umeres Miranda.
3. The Franciscans founded a College of Missions.
- 4 Ill. Señor Antonio Caballero y Góngora, Archbishop of Santafé de Bogotá, is named viceroy. Revolution of the "Comuneros" party. Pardon of those implicated in the revolution.
5. Colonization of Darién. New settlements in that region.
6. Unfavorable reports of Darién given by Viceroy Gil Lemus. The territory and the towns founded there are abandoned.
7. Invasion of the Indians to the provinces of Veraguas and Chiriquí. Death of bishop de Umeres Miranda.

1. By the death of Bishop Francisco de los Ríos y Armengol, Father Antonio de Umeres Miranda, native of the city of Santiago de Chile, Inquisitor of the Tribunal of the Faith in Cartagena, Vicar General of the Archbishopric of Santafé de Bogotá during the episcopacy of Rev. Sr. Dr. Don Pedro Felipe de Azúa and Canon of the Cathedral of Panamá, was appointed by the king to occupy this See. He came to officiate as bishop in 1777 more or less one year after the death of his predecessor.

2. During the vacancy we find a long list of confirmations made in February of 1777 in various churches of the city by Bishop Blas Sobrino y Minayo, Bishop of Cartagena, who was on his way to Quito whither he had been promoted. A record of the visit of Bishop Sr. de Umeres Miranda, dated Nov. 14, 1780, which is registered in the book of Baptisms of the cathedral, decreed: 1. That there be taught without failure, Christian Doctrine in the churches on Sunday afternoons, censuring the carelessness and negligence of the parish priests on that point and

threatening with punishment if they failed to comply with so essential a duty of the ministry; 2. That the parish priests announce from the pulpit to the parents and to the masters the obligations of sending their children and servants to catechism and in case they neglected to do so in spite of the announcement, absolution should be denied them as long as they did not show signs of repentance; 3. That since confusion and disorder existed in the administering and reception of the Sacraments, such as the habit of parishioners going indiscriminately to any priest or parish priest and the latter accepting them without any inquiry, thereby causing nullification or invalidity say as of matrimony or the Easter Duty, it outlined the jurisdiction of the parishes; assigning to that of the Cathedral all the people who lived within the walls of the city, and to that of Santa Ana from the earthen gate which they called Revellín to the suburbs, up to the river Cárdenas, which bounded the section of Cruces. It ordered the parish priests not to administer the Sacrament to parishioners from another parish without a license from the Bishop or with the consent of the respective parish priest, under the penalties prescribed by the Council of Trent; 4. It ordered the clergy who resided in the two mentioned parishes, although attached to the Cathedral for the occasions in which their services were required, nevertheless to keep a close watch on their own parishes and to go to them to say Mass at least on holy days, forbidding them from celebrating Mass in other churches, unless for some particular purpose and with permission of the Bishop or his Vicar General; 5. It provided that for the information and convenience of the faithful there be placed on the door of the sacristy a board with the names of the priests, and the hour assigned each one for celebrating Mass; not to take place during the High Mass, and not all at the same time, but that one Mass should follow another, first giving warning with a bell in order that the people might assemble and that in accordance with this order the sacristan make the necessary provisions for celebrating Mass; 6. That the parish priests at the beginning of Lent, make a record of all the parishioners, for the fulfillment of the yearly Easter Duty, and present it to the prelate after Dominica in Albis with an individual note of all those who might have failed to fulfill the precept in order to give the proper admonition to oblige them to comply; 7. It censured the poor

condition of the parochial books and ordered the parish priests to give more attention not only in keeping them but in the drawing of the records, noting with the Baptisms and marriages besides the names, the color of the individual, that is, whether white, or black, or half caste, whether he were free or slave, etc.; that these books should be kept under lock and key and that they should be shown to no one without permission from higher authority; 8. Due to the disorders and objections which had been made, it forbade that Mass be said at dawn and that services be held at night; the churches consequently had to be closed from dark until five o'clock in the morning when it begins to dawn; and that before that hour no Mass was to be begun, threatening with punishment any violators and the sacristans who aided in the infraction.

3. On the 26th. of April, 1781, there occurred another fire of no small magnitude in the city, consuming 56 of the best houses of the center between the streets of San José and La Merced, spreading through what is to-day Avenue A, as far as the building of the Jesuits, which was also destroyed by the flames. At this time, the Franciscan Fathers, with the approval of the king founded a College of the Missions; for some time already these worthy religious had been working with success in the conversion of the Indians, especially in the province of Veraguas. They, as we have seen, were the founders of the town of Las Palmas.

4. On the 25th. of May, 1779, the archbishopric of Santafé de Bogotá had been filled by the Bishop Doctor Don Antonio Caballero y Góngora, who had been bishop of Yucatán, and on that very day the Pallium was bestowed upon him in the Cathedral of that metropolis in the midst of a very large and select gathering. After having taken active part in the pacification of the revolution of the Comuneros in Nueva Granada, provoked by the blunders of the Regent Don Juan Francisco Gutiérrez de Piñeres, he was elected by the king to fill the viceroyship. His first step in government was to obtain from the Sovereign ample and general pardon for all those implicated in the revolution of Socorro, which edict he had published without delay. He undertook at once the settlement of the boundaries between certain dioceses, he erected the bishopric of Cuenca and Mérida, and endeavored to have the bishopric of Panamá remain as suffragan to

the Archbishopric of Santafé instead of Lima on account of the greater facilities of communication since the suppression of the galleon fleets; but the Holy See did not deem this time opportune for this measure.

5. At this time a royal order came to the Archbishop Viceroy to occupy the Coast of Darién at any cost; but without promising to give troops or money but rather, on the contrary, they considered withdrawing the royal navy and they suspended the remittance of the allowance of Havana; and this at a time when the royal treasury had become exhausted by preparations for war with the English and finally, they had just disbursed, not in paper, but in actual silver 889,423 pesos to pay the debt contracted with the commerce of Cartagena. Under these circumstances Señor Góngora made an investigation to see what measures he could take in order to carry out the royal order, and with this in view he went down to Cartagena wishing to attend personally to the affair. There he made all his arrangements and having procured the necessary resources, he armed an expedition putting it under the command of Marshal Don Antonio de Arévalo, which set out in January of 1785 and occupied Caimán, Mandinga and La Concepción; but as Caledonia still remained, more men were sent him after six months, the town was occupied without resistance, and they gave it the name of Carolina del Darién. They proceeded then to found a town in the southern part in Puerto Príncipe, and in the North, clearings were made and houses were constructed, and forts to defend themselves against the Indian invasions. Then was received the decree of the British government to the Governor of Jamaica in which he was forbidden to aid in any way the Indians of Darién; a decree sufficiently efficacious to discourage them, for after a few days there came to Cartagena the "Lere" or chief priest of Mundigalla in order to swear allegiance in the presence of the Archbishop Viceroy, in the name of eight towns over which he had jurisdiction. Everything presented a favorable aspect, but very soon the Indians returned to their treachery and attacked the fort of Carolina whence they were repulsed. The means of persuading them to peace and obedience to the Spanish government were negotiated through an Englishman called Henry Hooper, who for twenty years had had intercourse with them, understood their language perfectly, and was a good man. Having been placed in charge of

this commission he persuaded the chief General Bernardo, who was looked upon with veneration among them, to go on to Cartagena with five captains to establish capitulation of peace with the Archbishop Viceroy. This was verified on the 21st. of July, 1787, in which they acknowledged for themselves and in the name of all the rest, the authority and dominion of the King of Spain, agreeing in other articles to the adoption of the treaty with the English and agreeing that they should not have men armed except with hatchets and machetes for clearings and also that they should not resort to vengeance for injuries inflicted by anyone, but should go with their complaints to the authority of this settlement.

Thus the Archbishop Viceroy, when the royal treasury was exhausted and without any other force than the Regiment of the Princess and the militias of Panamá and Cartagena, succeeded in establishing some system of order among the barbarians, whose submission undertaken with so many resources during 100 years, they had not been able to obtain. Not believing nevertheless that Darién would remain permanently subjected by these means, but that it was necessary to resort to the system of colonization, he endeavored to introduce North American families; but the execution of this plan had to be suspended, awaiting the disappearance of fevers occasioned by the clearings, which had played such great havoc in the garrison. Matters were at this pass when Señor Góngora left the viceroyship. It is probable that had he continued for some years more following up the colonization by missions, religion would have completed the work of socializing and civilizing those barbarians, possessors of such natural endowments, which had been employed only in assassination at the instigation of the English and the Dutch, as the French and the Dutch had instigated and perverted the Carib Indians on the Orinoco.

6. The illustrious Señor Góngora having resigned the position of viceroy of New Granada, there was named to succeed him Don Francisco Gil y Lemus. Although he held office only for a short time, nevertheless he took advantage of the time to give the court very unfavorable information relative to the colonization of Darién undertaken by his predecessor. He said that the four towns of Carolina, Concepción, Mandinga and Caimán had been formed under exorbitant expenses and were being

maintained at the cost of much work and the sacrifice of funds and people. As the government could not support any longer such an enterprise, it resolved to abandon it as soon as the report of Gil y Lemus was received, not retaining of those towns any except Caimán, and in April, 1789, the royal decree was issued ordering that the territory and towns therein founded be abandoned. Marshal Arévalo then vacated the sites of Mandinga, Concepción and Carolina, destroying the forts, demolishing the churches in order that they might not be profaned by the savages. The forts on the rivers of Sabana, Chucunaque and Tuira were also destroyed. Naturally, hardly had the Spaniards evacuated Darién than the Indians returned to their former habits and previous ferocity.

7. In the province of Veraguas and Chiriquí in the year 1788 there took place another insurrection of the Indians, the towns of Bugaba, Tolé, and Cañazas being this time the victims of their depredations. Bishop De Umeres Miranda died in this city on the 11th. of September, 1791, as is apparent from the following record which is registered in the Death Statistics of that year (Cathedral Archives): "In the City of Panamá on the 12th. of September of the year 1791, I, Don Pedro José A. Casis de la Torre, pastor pro tem of this Holy Cathedral Church, state: that on this day took place the funeral of Most Ill. and Rev. Don José Antonio Umeres Miranda, very worthy bishop of this kingdom of Tierra Firme, of the Council of his Majesty, native of the city of Santiago de Chile, of the Kingdom of Perú, at the age of 76 years, 2 months and 1 day, and died on the 11th. at dawn between the hours of three and four in the morning, was given burial with full ceremony, a pall, censer, double coffin, tolling of bells, and burial in a vault of the Brotherhood of Saint Peter, with the attendance of the Venerable Dean and Cathedral Chapter and of all the clergy and religious communities, Mass (corpse present) and high offering, there having preceded in the episcopal palace the funeral offices in the order and according to rule prescribed by the ceremonial of bishops; His Grace received the Holy Sacrament of Penance, Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction. Although His Grace the Bishop had not turned into capital the possessions which he had before becoming Bishop, he made testamentary disposition, in order to overcome the obstacle presented by the stipulated laws of the In-

dies, fulfilling the pious intention of always benefitting his church by this testament, and so that the most beneficial result be obtained by it, he referred it to the throne in order to receive the approval of the Royal Clemency of his Majesty on all disposition made by the Bishop. And as a Testimony thereof I place my signature. (Signed) Pedro Josef Casís de la Torre."



THE CATHEDRAL OF PANAMA

Commenced under Bishop D. Antonio de León, 1673; blessed in 1762 during the episcopacy of D. Jerónimo de Román y Carrillo.

CHAPTER XXXVII

1. Bishop Señor Don Remigio de la Santa y Ortega, 37th. Bishop of Panamá. Consecration of the Cathedral. Customs of those times.
2. Record of the visit to the parish of Pacora.
3. Restoration of Tolé, Boquerón, Dolega and Gualaca. Falling off of the missions. Report of Viceroy Mendinueta.
4. Regulations of the military widows and orphans pension in the Indies.
5. Record of the visit of Alanje.

1. Two years after the death of Bishop José Antonio Umeres Miranda, Bishop Remigio de la Santa y Ortega came to govern the diocese in 1792. He was a member of the council of his Majesty and consecrated the cathedral on April 4th., 1796, with all the solemnity enjoined by the pontifical. The interior of the beautiful temple with five naves was nearing completion, the walls, columns and arches were plastered, and they were marking out on the outside, the space which had been selected for the portico. The sacristy, although not as beautiful as it is today, had also been completed and was in use. The High Altar had not yet been erected, for this work was completed by his successor Bishop Señor Don Manuel Joaquín González de Acuña, and in its place a temporary altar, handsome enough, was being used, which was situated in the choir of the clergy. Nor did the fine organ exist which is today used on solemn occasions; but the choir in which it was placed later, was already built. The quality of the woods employed in the staircases in the towers leading to the bell landings, is so excellent that even in our day they are in perfect condition except for slight repairs made to the steps, and they promise to keep so for many more years. Three bells brought from the ancient Cathedral of Old Panamá were in use. These bells had escaped the flames of the fearful fire which destroyed that first Spanish settlement. The pavement of the entire temple was made of large square bricks as was the custom of

that time, these were closely joined with a mortar which made them appear to form a single surface over the entire floor. The joyful peal of the bells on the eve, heralded the great solemnity which was to take place on the following day in the beautiful temple. Lanterns of glass and of paper improvised for the occasion, tallow candles used at that time, and the memorable torches, for several hours of the night illuminated the doors, windows, and corridors which faced the street. In the atrium of the Cathedral and around the plaza were placed at a distance of four yards from each other, tripods of branches strongly fastened with reeds. On top of these they had put tiles holding thick shavings of Cote (resinous tree) which glowed, forming a great illumination all around. A few musicians standing in front of the main door of the temple played gay music for the noisy crowd, which moved in and around the plaza waiting for the hour to say the Rosary and sing the Ave Maria. The fire crackers, balloons, "cainflines" (the "chasers" of our day) with their repeated reports completed the hubbub of the feast. Here and there in some streets and districts could be seen tables with show cases of tamales, empanadas, cakes, and rusks, cinnamon water and other delicacies, which the skill of the women, always with an eye for business, had fashioned for the merry-makers and passersby. In the presence of the ecclesiastical council, of the military and civil authorities and members of the secular and community clergy, and before an immense crowd, Bishop Señor de la Santa y Ortega began the blessing and consecration of the Church early in the morning of the fourth of April, 1796—the ceremony lasting until after midday. In the holy temple the crosses which bear witness to this consecration are still preserved. The remainder of the day was spent in merry making and pleasure; repeating in the evening the illumination of the eve with its fire work displays, and the religious ceremony, that could not be omitted in the recently consecrated church, which concluded with a solemn Te Deum.

2. In the archives of the Church at Pacora we find a record of the visit of Bishop de la Santa y Ortega in which he stated, first: In order to correct the abuse which had crept in, authorized naturally by the priests, of marrying without nuptial blessing, ordered that all those who had been married omitting it, should as soon as possible have the ceremony performed, and ab-

solutely forbade the parish priests to perform such marriage without the special permission of the bishop (ordinary); second: he censures the conduct of the parish priests, who without any authority whatever omitted the reading of the banns, and instructs them under severe penalty to publish the banns, except in cases of a marriage in articulo mortis; third: he ordered the ornaments to be renewed and the chalice to be repaired, all of which he found in very poor condition; fourth: he grieved that although there was a parish priest in the town, the Blessed Sacrament was not kept in the Church because of the lack of a Sanctuary, and he ordered one to be built as soon as possible, in order that the Blessed Sacrament might be kept in Church and Holy Viaticum be administered to the sick at any hour; fifth: he confirmed the edict of his predecessor's visit, ordering that the provisions contained in it be fulfilled, and he granted some authorities to the parish priest for the better government of his parish; he ordered the priests to proceed without delay to investigate the assessment on chaplaincies, charitable institutions and pious works, which were imposed upon the lands under his jurisdiction, and to report to him in order to make them profitable.

3. For ten years the colony had been enjoying peace and tranquillity and the missionaries were taking advantage of this favorable circumstance for their Apostolic labors. The evangelizing of the Indians of the province of Chiriquí progressed, thanks to the zeal of the Franciscan religious who were working there. By this time, they had reconstructed the towns of Tolé and Boquerón, which had been formerly destroyed by the Indians. As much had been done for the towns of Dolega and Gualaca arranging their administration in such a way as almost to make it a formal founding.

Nevertheless the falling of the missions caused by the decadence of Panamá itself and because of the ill-advised ordinance of Charles III could not be ignored. What occurred here was taking place also in the whole viceroyship, as we have gathered from the information rendered by viceroy Mendinueta, who was then governing Nueva Granada. We quote some paragraphs of this report, which clearly expound how much was suffered by the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits and how useless were the efforts which the government made to restore them to their former splendor.

"In view of what I have related concerning the missions and what is set forth in the records of the governments of their excellencies Dr. Antonio Caballero and the Count of Espeleta, it appears, that we are about to confess in good faith that too little progress is made in the conversions and that the means hitherto employed for their advancement have been inefficacious. It is necessary to resort to others and to provide against the lack of workers which is greater and more noticeable at once, and none more so than the drawing up of instructions which may serve as a rule for the missionaries; but in my opinion the first thing which should be done is the establishing of colleges for missionaries, where may be trained individuals adapted to so high a calling. Even though the establishments of religious in America had been permitted with a design other than the propagation of the Gospel, a point which admits of no discussion, because legislation was very clear on this point, from the moment in which the active missions were entrusted to and accepted by them, their first care should have been to form a seminary of workers in order to fulfill worthily this obligation. No better means could be employed for this than to erect colleges or mission seminaries in which having tried the vocations and inclinations of the religious for this ministry, they are instructed in the method of practising it to the best advantage, learning the language of the Indians, making a study of their customs and of their character; and in a word the seminaries are the only place where it will be possible to develop ministers *like the ex-Jesuits had in their colleges.*"

Mendinueta spoke this truth late when there was no longer any remedy for the evil.

4. About the end of 1796 the new ruling which his Majesty dispatched in January of the same year for the control of the military pension for widows and orphans in the Indies, was ordered to be put in effect, in which articles 10, 11, 12, 13 the following was ordered: "Article 10.—For each payment the parties interested shall present the respective certificates of their parish priest or "castrenses", who will testify with due clearness that they are remaining in the actual state of widows or unmarried and that the former are caring for the education and support of their children or step children, whose documents must be legalized in due form. Article 11.—If they should change their residence or parish they must take with them the above cited iden-

tification, and shall immediately present it to their new parish priest so that by virtue of it and of the information which they must get, he may later certify their exact status. Article 12.—The parish priests or their assistants on giving the certification of widowhood or singleness shall ascertain the veracity of their statements having at hand the records of public or private marriages, and the registers; likewise obtaining confidential information from trustworthy people, who will give security of whatever they testify in certain documents required for the payment of pensions destined solely for the relief of those who remain in the state of widowhood or single, and not for those who being secretly married attempt to enjoy a pious fund with detriment and harm to the legitimate beneficiaries, upon which I appeal to your conscience, this being matter for restitution. Article 13.—The widows, orphans and mothers who after marrying continue to collect pensions which no longer belong to them, besides being obliged to make restitution, in conjunction with those who may have contributed to the fraud, shall suffer the penalty of losing all right of the benefit of the pension (Monte), no matter for what reason they may afterward have become entitled to it; and if they succeed in discovering it, claim will be made upon the income and property they may possess in order to reimburse the funds of the "Monte" (pension) of the sums defrauded."

5. Another record of a visit of Bishop Don Remigio de Lasanta y Ortega which is recorded in the book of documents of the parish of Alanje, gives an idea of the zeal of the prelate in the reform of his diocese and in the extirpation of the abuses which so frequently, and because of the carelessness of those invested with the strict maintenance of discipline, are being introduced under pretense of custom. Said record is dated June 7, 1795, and in it, 1—ordered that the priest himself and not the sacristan write the records in the book of the archives; and if on account of some impediment he is not able to do it himself, he will anyway draw up said records; 2—that he provide himself in time with books for this purpose especially when one is nearing completion, and that under no circumstances should records be written on loose leaves; 3—he confirms the order of his predecessor in the preceding visit relative to the teaching of Christian Doctrine and greatly recommends that teaching; he orders the establishment of a school which would be supported by the funds of

the brotherhoods, and obliges the teachers to take the children in a body to Mass on a holy day; 4—he renews the previous orders of his predecessors referring to the administration of the Sacraments, especially of Holy Viaticum; 5—he regulates in detail the administration of the funds of the brotherhoods and of the fabric-lands (church lands) obliging the respective wardens to render accounts at stated times remitting them to the clergy for comment; 6—he concedes certain favors both to the wardens who fulfill their office well, as well as to the people who cooperate in the teaching of Christian Doctrine; 7—he gives rules of conduct for the leasing of the lands belonging to the brotherhoods and he reproves the abuses committed up to that time along those lines by the wardens and parish priests; he orders that the fields of those lands be cultivated with cacao, añil, sugar and other seeds now that the lands lend themselves to those productions; that the priests visit these territories and preach and teach the Colonists; 8—he grants certain indulgences, and to the priest some powers for the easiest administration of the parish; 9—he regulates the office of the sacristan and assigns him the fees which he should receive; 10—he arranges that the greatest number of altars be placed in the church and that they be maintained with due decency and decorum; 11—he confirms the observance of the existing taxes, and orders the priests to treat the poor with charity in the payment of their fees, making it a matter of conscience; 12—he designates the boundaries of certain parishes in order that each parish priest may know the territory that belongs to him in the following form: the principal parish of Alanje extends to the east as far as the Río Chirigagua; to the north as far as the ravine of the Tejar; to the south as far as the Manglar, and to the west as far as the river Piedra, because from there would commence the territory of the town of the Indians which he was thinking of founding with the name of Immaculate Conception del Arado (of the plow) to-day Bugaba. The jurisdiction of David commences at the ranch of Chorchá at the east and extends to the west as far as the river Platanar; at the south it reaches as far as Pedregal; and at the north as far as the river David in the pass of Dolega. That of San Pablo extends from the river Platanar which it has on the East, as far as the Chirigagua on the West; on the north as far as the same river on the way to San Carlos, and to the south it extends as far as the sea. Finally

that of Boquerón borders on the parish of Alanje in the ravine of El Tejar, with that of Dolega as far as the river Platanar; on the north it extends as far as the mountain, and upon founding the town of which he spoke above, the boundaries on that side would be designated. Bishop Señor de Lasanta y Ortega was transferred to the diocese of La Paz, thence to that of Lérida, Spain, which place he never reached, for having become ill on the journey, he died in 1818 in the neighboring town of Tárrega.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1. Bishop Sr. Don Manuel Joaquín González de Acuña Sanz Merino, 38th. Bishop of Panamá.
2. Improvements to the Cathedral, construction of the principal altar, necessities and fixtures for same. Repairing of the Church of San Felipe. New installation of the Seminary.
3. Friar Francisco Javier Vidal and foundation of the town of San Miguel. Accusation against Friar Francisco. He is absolved and restitution is made to him.
4. Two records of visits.
5. Death of Bishop Señor Acuña.

1. Don Manuel Joaquín González de Acuña Sanz Merino, native of the city of Panamá, and prebendary canon of the Cathedral, entered upon the government of his diocese on the 10th. of March, 1798. Although all his predecessors had worked with apostolic zeal in the improvement of the diocese in its various administrative branches, there still remained nevertheless, a great deal to be done, and Bishop Acuña found vast and fertile field in which to exert his zeal; more especially so since as a son of this soil, he knew perfectly not only the sheep of which he had been made shepherd, but also their necessities. He began by concerning himself with the temples of the city, which were either not entirely finished, or needed repairs more or less urgent.

2. Although the Cathedral had already been consecrated by his predecessor, Bishop Sr. de la Santa y Ortega, that did not mean that it did not lack anything and that there was no longer anything to be done in it: many important details were lacking which Sr. Acuña undertook to accomplish. The magnificent main altar, which graceful and majestic rises up to the panelled ceiling, a work of true artistic merit, is due to the munificence of this prelate, for as the income of the cathedral far from covered the cost of its construction, he defrayed it from his own income, investing in it more than seven thousand pesos. He ordered from Spain a varied set of necessary articles and fixtures for cere-

monies, to replace those already much used and deteriorated, which were then in service; he increased the number of bells, which he had imported from Trujillo, where there was an excellent foundry, and he made other important improvements in the Mother Church of the kingdom, which edifice he ordered retouched and whitewashed making it look as if it had just been built. He immediately turned his attention to the church of San Felipe, which now by fires, and again by earthquakes, had suffered much, and all the damages had not yet been repaired. He then thought to improve the condition of the seminary which for identical reasons claimed his immediate attention. He transferred it to another place near the sea, enlarging a building which he bought for it and affording it all the comforts which the nature of the establishment required.

3. A short time before, Rev. Friar Francisco Javier Vidal, Commissary Prefect of the Franciscan Fathers, residents in the College of Missions of Panamá, had founded the town of Las Palmas in 1775, and he proposed to found another one by the name of San Miguel. Several other towns had already been founded by him in the province of Veraguas, as this eminent missionary of apostolic and indefatigable zeal was the spirit of those missions; but he was obliged to suffer opposition and even calumnies at the hands of Gov. Juan de Dios Ayala and the royal notary Pablo José Peñaranda. These two men as is gathered from the original report (autos), were interested in preventing the foundation of the town of San Miguel, and to this end influenced some Indians of the town of Tolé to present themselves saying that the father wished to transfer them to San Miguel, that he made them work on the foundation, that he treated them badly and that the purpose of all was to elude the remittance which he was supposed to make from them to the Ecclesiastical Ordinary.

The notary Peñaranda gave these Indians a certificate in which he stated that he knew that on the 12th. of April, 1803, about eight o'clock at night, when he was in the house of the governor, said Indians had entered to present their complaint against Father Vidal and to beg said governor to protect them and make him turn them over to the Ordinary; and the governor made a report to the Commanding General of Panamá, Don Juan de Urbina, stating the same. Father Vidal insisted on

founding the town, and in his defense, proved by documents and strong evidence, the malicious intentions of Ayala and Peñaranda as well as of the Indians. Neither the notary nor the governor took into consideration a circumstance which occurred the same day, April 12th., 1803, when they said that at 8 o'clock of that day the Indians had gone to make complaint against the Father. This circumstance was, that on that same day and at that same hour, Father Vidal was paying a visit in Ayala's house, and here is one of the proofs which the religious used to demonstrate the falsity of the accusations made against him.

The assessor, Dr. Don Joaquín Cabrejo, to whom the matter was referred, decided in favor of Father Vidal with ample reasons and good judgement, reminding the government that the Indians were always liars and ready to make false statements; and the assessor was not unfounded in his reasons, because the viceroy of Lima, Don Francisco de Toledo, in the rules which he had made for the government of those provinces, provided that the testimony of six Indians jointly would stand for the value of one witness. Bishop González de Acuña also had discovered this, for being that year on a visit in the province of Veraguas, he was presented by the Indians with a brief against the father, and what the prelate did was to present it to the priest telling him to make whatever use he wished of it. The proceedings of this affair contained various other points, among them the claim of Father Vidal for stipends and other resources for the financing of the missions, which had been denied him in Veraguas. The Governor of Panamá and the board of public finance (Junta de Hacienda) decided that they be given to him with approval of the viceroy to whom he sent a copy of the proceedings, and Mendieta gave his approval.

4. Two reports of the visits of Bishop Sr. Acuña give us an idea of the spiritual state of the diocese in his time. From all the documents of that kind which we have found in the archives we come to the conclusion of the little zeal and lack of ecclesiastical spirit of the majority of the priests of that epoch, for almost all the exhortations after the visits, dwelt more on the corrections of abuses introduced and encouraged by them, than upon the necessities of the towns. The authorities, civil as well as ecclesiastical, did as much as they could to obtain the spiritual and temporal well-being of their subordinates; but the negligence and

apathy of their agents entrusted to fulfill their orders and have them fulfilled, frequently benumbed and even nullified their acts. The first of these documents found in the archives of Alange bears the date of 28th. of March, 1801, and was recorded by Canon Félix Pascual de Matheo, commissioned by the prelate to make the visit in his name and by his authority. In it Sr. Matheo says: 1. That he has found the files in a lamentable state, the books unbound, many of the sheets separated from the binding and many others torn; he censures and reproves such culpable carelessness and imposes a punishment on the priest for his negligence; the church itself also cried out to him for a show of interest in it, it was unpaved and full of dust and fleas; the faithful in order not to soil their clothing when they went to Mass, found themselves obliged to carry straw mats which they left afterwards heaped under the altars or shoved up against the walls, which gave the interior of the church an extremely repugnant and dirty aspect. Already Bishop Sr. de Umeres Miranda in the previous visit had punished this priest with a suspension and fine for the same carelessness and indifference, but the latter had not improved, and now Visitor Matheo imposes upon him another fine of 50 pesos to be given to the church lands, and threatens him with a greater fine if he does not improve.

The second record of a visit found in the archive of Pacora is of the 7th. of May, 1801, and is signed by Bishop Acuña himself. It is of the same tenor as the previous one of visitor Matheo, that is to say: poor state of the archives, poverty of the church, or rather, negligence of same, for which reason he removes the priest and appoints another, Father José de León, in his place, with the injunction to fulfill faithfully the orders of the visit; he regulates the use which is to be made of the parish income and names a certain Sr. Pedro Polanco warden of church lands, with the necessary faculties to look after the necessities of the church; he orders the priest that in view of the poverty of the inhabitants he be charitable with them in the matter of church dues, he earnestly recommends the teaching of Christian Doctrine on Sundays and Holy Days and makes it a matter of conscience with the parish priest; he grants three Plenary Indulgences and gives the priest the power to absolve the reserved cases, to bless images, and other things conducive to the proper administration of the parish.

5. Bishop Sr. Acuña died in Panamá, July 20th., 1813,

and was buried the following day as appears in the following death record: "In the city of Panamá on the 21st. of July, 1813, I, Don Manuel Calvo, Parish Priest of this Holy Cathedral Church, certify that today ecclesiastical burial has been given to the body of Sr. Don Manuel Joaquín González de Acuña, very worthy bishop of this diocese, with full ceremony, double coffin, censer, vault of Saint Peter, tollings, and escort, and with the attendance of the Venerable Dean and Cabildo, in all solemnity. He received the Holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction and as a record I place my signature.—Manuel José Calvo."

CHAPTER XXXIX

1. Friar Higinio Durán y Martel, 39th. Bishop of Panamá.
2. Discontent throughout the Colonies. Necessity of Independence.
3. The Creoles.
4. Independence of the United States. Report of Count Aranda.
5. Revolution of Quito. Meeting of Notabilities in Santafé. Increase of the Cabildo.
6. Prisons in Santafé. Nariño.
7. Formation of a Board of Government. Caldas. The Political Daily of New Granada.
8. Meetings in the Provinces. Don Jorge Tadeo Lozano, first president of the board of Santafé.
9. La Bagatela. Resignation of Don Jorge Tadeo Lozano. The Patriots of the Isthmus are invited to take part in the revolution. Aggressions of the Colombian Patriots.
10. General Morillo plans to move to Panamá. Colonel Juan Domingo Yturralde.
11. Battle of Boyacá. Forming of "La Gran Colombia". Panamá is included in the boundaries. Meeting of the Notables in Panamá. Independence is proclaimed.
12. Death of Bishop Durán.

1. Bishop Friar Don Juan Higinio Durán y Martel was the successor of Bishop Sr. Don Joaquín González de Acuña Sanz Merino, and commenced to govern the diocese not in 1818 as we read in the general directory of the City of Panamá, published in 1897, but the previous year as stated in a record of a visit which is registered in a book of deaths of the parish of the Sanctuary, dated the 13th. of December, 1817, and signed by him. He was a Peruvian, native of Lima and belonged to the order of Our Lady of Mercy.

2. Already since the episcopacy of the Bishop Sr. Acuña, there was felt in all American colonies belonging to the Spanish crown a discontent which increasing day by day, augured a fatal development, as actually occurred with the war of independence,

which took place a few years later. The reason for that discontent was a necessary consequence of the political occurrences which at that time were taking place in the Peninsula, and whose effect undoubtedly would be felt in the possessions beyond the seas. This had created too tense a situation. The people in general were attached to the king, not so the cultured and political men who cherished in their hearts the sentiment of independence; and the Spanish rulers, who already perceived these sentiments, naturally endeavored to suffocate them in order to retain the power for themselves.

The Americans had already reached a state in which they could not continue to remain under the colonial tutelage, and they demanded justly to become independent. The act of an usurping monarch having seized the throne of Spain, precipitated the events: the Americans, who no longer wished to remain colonists of Spain, wished much less to be colonists of France, and this flame was fired in all hearts. They endeavored then to take advantage of the favorable circumstances which presented themselves, and urged the revolutionary wheels in the spirit of emancipation. All this the Spanish Regency knew and recognized when it declared the Americans an integral part of the Spanish monarchy, for they had reached a point of growth which placed them in the rank of nations both on account of their riches, their population and their state of civilization. It was impossible that people of such conditions and prodigious extensiveness could be governed by despatches and by a sovereign located at an immense distance across the sea. In all the provinces there stood out men noted for their intelligence and talents, and the very fact of the revolution proves their existence, for without these intelligences it would not have occurred. Let this be said in contradiction of the false and slanderous statements of some writers who say that the Spanish Government kept us steeped in ignorance and subjection. Certain it is, that in those days it was not permitted for everyone to read everything which was being written, a sacred prohibition in spite of the fact that some have declaimed against it. In this respect there is no reason to complain, for the ban was not only for the Americans, but for all the subjects of the monarchy, whether American or European. And with the good of the public in view, the forbidding of irreligious immoral books and anarchical doctrines, could not be more just. Every man of judgement will

concede that there should not be liberty for this class of books.

3. As always occurs under circumstances analogous to those in which these colonies found themselves at the beginning of the 19th. century, there awakened among the different social classes a species of antipathy or animosity which engendered the spirit of insurrection and further fanned the flame of hatred and of enmity of one against the other. The denomination of Creoles which the Spanish in an evil hour adopted in order to distinguish those born on the continent, although they were descendants of the peninsulars, from those of Iberian nationality, had been creating for some time past, certain break which eventually was bound to produce lamentable results. Actually these creoles did not look upon the Spanish Europeans as nationals, nor did the latter regard the creoles as Spaniards but as degenerated Spaniards. The ones considered themselves superior to the others because they were of the Mother Country; and the others considered themselves offended by the fatuous pride of those who held this belief.

4. A short time before, the Independence of the United States of the North had been established, and those Americans, judiciously and prudently had founded a republic upon firm and rational bases which fully satisfied their aspirations. This excited in the dissatisfied ones the desire to do likewise, not taking into consideration that they were under very different conditions. However, it was now so indispensable that the Americas constitute themselves into states independent of Europe, with their own Government, that the Spanish ministers recognized this fully. We will quote the paragraphs of the report which the Count of Aranda presented to Carlos III when he returned to Spain in 1785, after having signed, as Spanish Plenipotentiary, the Treaty of Peace between Spain, France and England, by which the independence of North America was recognized. The prophetic words of this manifesto relative to the United States are famous. It reads thus: "I have just signed, by virtue of the powers and orders which Your Majesty has deigned to give me, the treaty of peace with England. This negotiation which, in conformance with the honorable testimonies which by word of mouth and in writing Your Majesty has been pleased to give me, I believe has been concluded in conformity with the royal intentions. It has left, nevertheless, a painful impression upon my soul, which I feel obliged to manifest to Your Majesty. The Independence of the English Colonies has

just been recognized, and this for me, is a motive for fear and grief. This federal republic was born a pigmy so to speak and has needed the support of the strength of two states as powerful as Spain and France to insure its independence. THE TIME WILL COME IN WHICH IT WILL BECOME A GIGANTIC AND EVEN A VERY FORMIDABLE COLOSSUS IN THOSE VAST REGIONS. THEN SHE WILL FORGET THE BENEFITS WHICH SHE RECEIVED FROM BOTH POWERS, AND WILL THINK ONLY OF ENLARGING HERSELF. HER FIRST STEP WILL BE TO TAKE POSSESSION OF THE FLORIDAS IN ORDER TO DOMINATE THE GULF OF MEXICO. THESE FEARS, SIR, ARE TOO WELL FOUNDED, AND SHALL BE REALIZED WITHIN A FEW YEARS, IF OTHER MORE FATAL ONES WILL NOT HAVE OCCURRED BEFORE IN OUR AMERICAS. A wise policy advises us to prepare ourselves for the evils which threaten us. And after having considered this important matter with all the attention of which I am capable, and according to the ideas which the military and political knowledge acquired in my long career have afforded me, I believe that in order to avoid the evils with which *we are threatened*, there is no other measure left to us than that which I shall have the honor to present to Your Majesty.

"Your Majesty should relinquish all your possessions on the American Continent retaining only the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico in the northern part and some other province in the south, which you may deem suitable, for the purpose of serving us as stopping places or deposits for Spanish commerce. In order to carry out this great thought in a manner advantageous to Spain, three realms should be stationed in America: a king in Mexico; another in Perú and another in Costa Firme: Your Majesty will assume the title of emperor."

Had the great proposal of this eminent man been carried out the revolution of Spanish America would have been avoided, for had the monarchies in America been established from that time, all the notable Americans would have come to figure honorably in the government positions, and they would not have thought of emancipating themselves.

5. At this time arrived the news of the revolution which had broken out in Quito on the 10th. of August, 1809, instigated

with the purpose of establishing there a board of government on the style of those which were functioning in Spain. Some very distinguished men figured in that revolution, as Don Juan Pío Montúfar, Marquis de Selva Alegre, Don Juan de Dios Morales, Don Juan Salinas, Captain of the Guard of Quito, Don Nicolás Peña, Captain of the Militias, Don Manuel Quiroga, lawyer of the Royal Audiencia, and others.

The plot was discovered, and already in the month of March of that year (1809), the four last named had been taken prisoners and prosecuted. This did not deter the patriots in their plan and they arranged matters for the 20th. of August; but they were obliged to advance them to the tenth, for they received information that they had been denounced to the government.

When the news of the revolution of Quito reached the viceroy of Santafé, he convoked a very large council of notables, of which the judges and fiscals formed a part, for the purpose of deliberating over the means which should be employed to pacify Quito. Some of them thought that force should be used by sending an expedition to subject the revolutionaries; others, and these were in the majority, manifested their conformity of ideas with the people of Quito, and even went so far as to propose to the viceroy to do the same in Santafé as had been done in Quito, and to put himself at the head of the board of Government. There was no doubt. The spirit of independence had penetrated all the colonies. This frank declaration of the majority caused those who had expressed this sentiment to be considered suspects and enemies of the government. Although the viceroy Don Antonio Amar, a timid and irresolute man, wished to conciliate both factions by sending a peace commission with Don José María Lozano, Marquis of San Jorge, in charge, he also sent another war commission composed of 300 men under the command of Don José Dupré. From this moment matters presented a gloomy aspect in the viceroyship and in anticipation of what might occur, the battalion of Fijo, called "de los chungos", because it was composed principally of negroes, was ordered transferred from Cartagena to Santafé. The chief of this battalion was Colonel Santana, a man faithful to the king. Other precautions were taken, such as an increase of members of the cabildo with individuals confessedly loyal to the crown, because the majority of those who composed that municipal corporation were marked patriots. Needless to say, that the

Santafé patriots were in communication and secret intelligence with those of Quito and that they encouraged and instigated them in a thousand ways by means of writings and some demonstrations.

6. The revolutionary spark had already been kindled in the viceroyship of Nueva Granada to which Panamá belonged. In the month of November of the same year 1809, some were made prisoners in Santafé, and others banished, among them Nariño and Don Baltasar Miñano, who though a Spaniard, was affiliated as a patriot; and were sent prisoners to Cartagena. All of this was nothing more than fuel that was being heaped by the poor policy of those men in the government, who believed to keep themselves in their positions by means of terrorism, which under circumstances similar to these, does not intimidate but excites and irritates and urges on to vengeance. Another imprudence was committed which contributed to fanning the flame of discord, and that was the naming as governors of provinces Spaniards who made themselves conspicuous by their haughtiness against the creoles whom they began to treat as if they were enemies. Matters reached such a pass, that the patriots were forced to adopt measures in view of the circumstances. The celebrated Dr. Camilo Torres, a man distinguished for his honesty and talent, and a confirmed patriot, addressed a remonstrance, written to the Junta Central de España, claiming the equality of rights for Spaniards and Americans.

7. The agitation of the people increased day by day until the excitement reached its crisis on the 20th of July, 1810. The "Chisperos," and uprisers who took the name of tribunes of the people, declaimed with unparalleled intensity, and the intelligent men who led the movement, in proportion as they saw popular energy increasing and royal authority decreasing, took forward steps in their undertaking. So it was that it was decisively resolved to request the formation of a Junta like that of Sevilla. Before a gathering of thousands of individuals in the Plaza de Armas in Santafé, Don José Acevedo, one of the fieriest of the tribunes, thus arraigned the multitude from one of the balconies of a house: "If you lose this moment of enthusiasm and ardor; if you allow this unique and auspicious occasion to escape, before twelve hours you will be treated insurgents. Behold," said he pointing to the jail, "the dungeons, the balls and chains which await you." The people upon hearing these words frantically shouted: "La Junta, la Junta!!"

At last after the most heated agitations, says the "Diario Político de Nueva Granada", edited by Caldas, the learned Caldas who has merited the eulogy of European knowledge, "after the strongest of the agitations, after a night of terrors, fears and horrors, there was established the Junta Suprema of the new kingdom of Granada, at dawn on the 21st. day of July, 1810". The president of this junta was the viceroy, and the vice president the mayor (alcalde) with 35 voters named from among the most select and distinguished of Santafé, all gentlemen, like Don José Miguel Pey, Don Miguel Pombo, Don Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez, Don Camilo Torres, and other men of this caliber.

8. After the Junta de Santafé others were formed in the provinces which later were to enter into conflict with that of the capital of the kingdom and give way to a federation: such were those of Cartagena, El Socorro, Tunja, Medellín and Santa Marta. On the 22nd. of December, 1810, there united for the first time in the Sala de Acuerdos of the Real Audiencia, the new Granadian congress, composed of representatives of the capital and of the provinces. Don Manuel Bernardo Alvarez was elected president of the same, for a period of two months, and secretaries Don Antonio Nariño and Don Crisanto Valenzuela. Later, on the 1st. of April, 1811, the state of Cundinamarca was established, naming as its president Don Jorge Tadeo Lozano, who promulgated the constitution of the new state on the fourth day of the same month. Article 1 of title 2 of this celebrated constitution said: "The Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion is the religion of the State. No other cult in public nor in private will be permitted and she shall be the only one who will be allowed to be supported at the expense of contributions from the provinces and sums designated for this purpose, in accordance with the law which governs this matter." What different ideas our forefathers cherished in the matter of religion from those which are cherished today. It is fitting here to record the words which on the 13th. of October, 1810, were directed to the Junta of Bogotá by the celebrated leader, Don Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez: "Eighty days have transpired, our liberty is problematic and happiness is unknown to us. I find myself obliged to pronounce this truth, sad and bitter though it may be, and no matter how it pierces my heart, for I see lost my sacrifices, my sleepless nights, and what is more important, the hope of the common good." Would that

the celebrated leader might rise from his grave and repeat with new and more purified grief to the politicians of our day: "One hundred five years have elapsed, and our liberty is still problematic, happiness is unknown to us. I see lost my sacrifice, my sleepless nights and what is greater, the hopes of a common good."

9. Don Jorge Tadeo Lozano, first constitutional president of Cundinamarca, resigned the office and withdrew from it on the 19th. of September, 1811, on account of the attacks made upon him by Don Antonio Nariño by means of "La Bagatela", a satirical and scoffing paper of which he was editor. The national committee accepted his resignation and named Don José María Domínguez, who was vice president, to occupy that high position: but Sr. Domínguez, a peaceful man, and one who understood the object Nariño had in view in his attacks, resigned immediately. It was necessary to name as president the interpreter of the *rights of man*, the author and editor of "La Bagatela", the celebrated Nariño. As we do not propose to describe in detail the great revolution which brought about the independence of South America because this task is foreign to the subject in view, we will limit ourselves to discuss the subject thus far, solely to present its antecedents, and to put before you the state of mind of the people throughout the New Kingdom of Nueva Granada. It is easily conceived that the patriots, both from the interior of the kingdom as from the neighboring colonies, disquieted the inhabitants of Tierra Firme, urging them also to proclaim themselves independent, to form their Junta, and to proceed in harmony with those already established in the different provinces of the viceroyship; but the town halls of Panamá and Veraguas rejected the proposals preferring to remain loyal to the king and thereupon reinforcements were sent to the royalists, who were working to quell the rebellion of Quito.

The Viceroy Amar and his wife had been banished from Bogotá and were taken to Cartagena and finally shipped to Spain after having suffered some outrages from the mobs. Selected to replace him was Brigadier Benito Pérez, on 21st. of March, 1812, who not having been able to enter Santafé on account of the state of insurrection which existed in the entire country, determined to establish himself in Panamá. Don Juan Antonio de Mata continued as governor of the province, but the latter having died shortly after the arrival of Don Benito, they selected to replace

him temporarily, Brigadier Víctor Salcedo Somodevilla, who filled the position from the 12th. of July, 1812, until the beginning of 1813, when Col. Carlos Meyner arrived, to whom the office belonged.

The Isthmus having been converted into the residence of the Spanish Government whence expeditions used to set forth to combat the insurgents of Quito and Cartagena, it was natural that it should also become the object of the attacks of the patriots. Unfortunately they had neither armament nor a fleet organized even in a mediocre manner, and thus it was that they made an unsuccessful attack upon Portobelo. In the meantime Spain, already free from the annoyance of Napoleon I, began seriously to consider the pacification of its colonies in America. They sent General Pablo Morillo (invested with extraordinary powers) with an army of 10,000 soldiers, experienced veterans, of those who had fought against France. The government of terror implanted itself in Nueva Granada, for Morillo, after besieging and taking Cartagena, executed and continued executing during the course of the campaign whatever patriot fell into his hands.

10. Morillo not having succeeded in quelling the revolution in Nueva Granada, and weakened by the great losses which he had suffered in the long campaign, planned to transfer to Panamá with what remained of this troop, to await reinforcements from Spain and to go to the Argentine to lend aid to the royalists, since there also they were fighting to shake the Spanish yoke. He was obliged, however, to change his plan on account of the news which he had received that the revolution had reawakened in Venezuela, due to an expedition headed by General Simón Bolívar, who had recruited in the Antilles. The appearance of this military genius in the theatre of the war resolved the triumph in favor of the patriots.

Brigadier Carlos Meyner, Governor of Panamá, having died in 1815, was succeeded by Colonel Francisco Ayala; but the latter dying in 1816, Colonel José Alvarez was named temporarily, while Colonel Juan Domingo Yturralde, to whom office belonged, arrived from Veraguas. Yturralde filled the office of Governor until 1817 when it was taken over by Field Marshal Don Alejandro Hore, who had been sent from Spain for this purpose. Between Hore and Bishop Higinio Durán, who commenced to govern the diocese on the 9th. of January of said year, it was decided

to transfer the cemetery which up to that time had been located next to the Cathedral, to another section of the city.

11. It is unnecessary to say that Bishop Sr. Durán could do little or nothing in the spiritual governing of his diocese, with the entire country embroiled in the horrors of so disastrous a war. During the episcopal term, there took place on the 7th. of August, 1819, the most celebrated of the battles which were ever fought in the war of independence, the battle of Boyacá, which definitely sealed the emancipation of Nueva Granada from the crown of Spain. That memorable battle whose action commenced at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and resulted in the capture of General Barreiro, commanding general of the Spanish army, by the soldier Pedro Martínez, of the battalion "Rifles"; of Gen. Jiménez, second in command of the army; of all the commandants and majors of the corps; of a multitude of subalterns and more than sixteen hundred soldiers; of all armament, munitions, artillery, cavalry, etc. In this battle Simón Bolívar, General-in-chief of the army of emancipation, Francisco de Paula Santander, commander of the battalion "Cazadores", Gen. Anzoátegui, who directed the operations of the center with the battalions "Primero de Barcelona", "Bravos de Páez" and the squadron of cavalry "Llano Arriba", and Gen. Carlos Soublette, covered themselves with glory, and others whose names history has not transmitted to us. The memory of these heroes will pass to posterity surrounded by the glow of immortality.

As a consequence of the battle of Boyacá, Gran Colombia was created which was proclaimed in the congress of Angostura, on the 17th. of Dec. of the same year, 1919, naming him as president of the Republic, who had been its creator and founder, the great Bolívar. Upon determining the boundaries of the new political unit, although the war was not terminated, nor the independence recognized by Spain, there were included the general captaincy of Venezuela and the viceroyship of Nueva Granada, extending its frontiers to the North as far as the Captaincy of Guatemala, and to the South as far as the limit to Perú. By this delineation, Panamá was included as an integral part of the great republic; but it was still occupied by the royalist forces and it was necessary to evict them from there also. Although the undertaking was not easy to carry out, after several attempts, nevertheless, made with this object in view, they succeeded at last in obtaining something

similar to what had been effected in Santafé. Colonel José Fábrega, Panaman, being Governor, the people led by the Chisperos or leaders, asked for the meeting of the Cabildo (Nov. 28, 1821) in order to discuss the matter of their emancipation. The Cabildo met in the town-hall, being present at the session, the governor and Captain-general of the kingdom, the most reverend bishop, Don Higinio Durán, his vicar general, and many others of the most distinguished and influential people of the city. After long and heated debates, the motion was approved that the territory of the Isthmus declare itself free and independent of the kingdom of Spain and united itself to Gran Colombia. The patriot José Vallarino Jiménez, from a balcony of the building announced the declaration to the people gathered in front of him, and upon hearing it the multitude broke forth in loud applause. A report was made of this memorable session and signed forth by all those who had taken part in it. Colonel Fábrega kept the command under the title of "Jefe Superior" (Superior Chief) of the Isthmus and undertook to send to Havana the Spanish garrisons stationed in Panamá, as well as Portobelo and Chagres.

13. Bishop Higinio Durán died on the 22nd. of October, 1823, in Chepo, during his pastoral visit.

CHAPTER XL

1. Friar Don Juan José Cabarcas González y Argüello, 40th. bishop of Panamá.
2. Department of the Isthmus.
3. Constitution of Cúcuta. Battles of Junín, Matará and Ayacucho.
4. First International Congress of America. Letter of Lafayette to Bolívar.
5. Convention of Ocaña. Great powers conceded to Bolívar. Plebiscite in Bogotá.
6. Conspiracy against the Liberator. Attempts at assassination. Marble stone.
7. Bolívar declares himself dictator. Conspirators are judged.
8. Biographic sketch of Monsignor Jované and death of most Rev. Sr. Cabarcas.

1. The Congress of Bogotá in 1828 elected the parish priest of Sogamoso, presbyter Manuel Vásquez y Gallo, native of Tunja, to represent it as bishop of Panamá; but he did not accept. For five years the See had been vacant, governed by the capitulary vicar Dr. Don Juan José Martínez, Dean of the Cathedral. With the refusal of Sr. Vásquez y Gallo, the vacancy had to continue until 1836 when Rev. Don Juan José Cabarcas González y Argüello was consecrated in Cartagena. Rev. Sr. Cabarcas was dean of the cathedral, rector of the seminary and vicar general of the bishopric, See vacant.

2. The independence of the Isthmus having been proclaimed in the celebrated Junta of Nov. 1821, bishop Sr. Durán advised the Governor of Santafé of the event, who hastened the decree of the 9th. of February, 1822, by which was created the "Departamento del Istmo" as an integral part of Gran Colombia. The Venezuelan Colonel Don José María Carreño was nominated "intendente", (governor under a viceroy) of the new department and governor of the province of Panamá. Colonel Fábrega once more became governor of the province of Veraguas.

3. When Carreño was established in the administration of

the department he promulgated the constitution drawn up by the Congress of Cúcuta in 1821, thus establishing the Colombian sovereignty in all the Isthmian provinces. In harmony with the orders that he received from the headquarters of the Liberator, he organized both administrations, civil and military, in the new political unit. Thus it was that the battalion "Istmo," composed of native elements in which figured as officers, many youths of the principal families of the capital, was sent under the command of Colonel Francisco Burdett O'Connor, to render aid to the patriots of Perú against the royalist troops commanded by General Canterac. Our fine and brave battalion engaged in the military actions of Junín, (Aug. 6, 1824), in Matará (Dec. 3), in which the Panaman Captain José Antonio Miró distinguished himself heroically, and finally in Ayacucho (9th. of Dec.), in which Gen. Sucre put an end to Spanish domination in the old possessions of the New World.

4. The year 1826 will be memorable in the history of the Isthmus for the celebration in the City of Panamá of the first International Congress of America. Bolívar, desirous of founding an alliance with the new nationalities recently liberated from Spain and to solidify the bonds of union among them, proposed to them the celebration of a Congress, selecting Panamá as the central place for the reunion of the plenipotentiaries. Only the delegates of Colombia, México, Perú, and Guatemala attended the council; the rest of the nations, for some reason or other, failed to attend and on the 5th. of July of said year, the sessions were closed without obtaining anything of any practical value to anyone. Bolívar bitterly regretted that his noble purpose had failed. A few months before its celebration, on the occasion of this congress, the Liberator received a letter from General Lafayette which we quote verbatim. It reads as follows:

Washington, Sept. 1st., 1825.

Liberator President:

My sacred and filial devotion to the memory of General Washington could not be better appreciated by his family than by honoring me with the commission, which they have seen fit to place upon me. Satisfied with the likeness of the picture, I take pleasure in thinking that of all living men, and even men of history, General Bolívar is the only one, to whom my paternal friend would have preferred to present this gift. What

more can I say to the great citizen whom Southern America has greeted with the name of Liberator, which title the two worlds have confirmed, and who endowed with an influence equal to his disinterestedness, carries in his heart solely the love of Liberty and of the Republic?

However, the public and recent testimonials of your kindness and your esteem, authorize me to present to you the personal congratulations of a veteran of the common cause; a veteran who on the eve of departure to the other hemisphere, will follow with his prayers the glorious conclusion of **your** labors and of that solemn Assembly of Panamá, where will be consolidated all the principles and all the interests of independence, of liberty and of American policy.

Receive, Mr. President and Liberator, the homage of my deepest and most respectful regard,

LAFAYETTE.

What would have happened if the recently emancipated nations had thoroughly understood their interests and had faithfully interpreted the thought of Bolívar. Unfortunately this did not happen.

5. Before consolidating itself the republic was obliged to undergo difficult trials which compromised somewhat its existence. It was rumored on the one hand that Spain was concentrating troops in Cuba in order to reconquer its lost colonies, and on the other hand the internal dissensions which at an inopportune time began to develop on account of the "Convención de Ocaña", attempted nothing less than to eliminate Bolívar from command and government of the republic. Relations with Perú were moreover very precarious for diverse reasons occasioned by the very war of Independence and already that nation had stationed a powerful army on the frontier with the idea of invading the provinces of the South.

During this state of affairs the members of the council of the Government of Bogotá realized perfectly well that the majority of the Convention of Ocaña had surrendered itself to the fury of passions, without any other object than to ruin the Liberator, even though ruining the republic, as they had said, "that it was necessary to kill Bolívar to gain their ends"; and knowing that the definite result of the endeavors of that convention would be none other than a general revolution of which no doubt the Spaniards in Cuba would take advantage, they resolved to profit by circumstances to prevent the evil, investing the constitutional pres-

ident with the powers for any emergency, while order and peace were consolidated to establish anew the republic.

By virtue of this decision of the council, General Pedro Alcántara Herrán, who was governor (intendente) of Cundinamarca, convoked a plebiscite for the 13th. of June in the same year 1828, composed of a great many people in which it was agreed:

1—Not to obey the laws which originated from the *Convención de Ocaña*. 2—To revoke the powers of the deputies selected by the province of Bogotá. 3—That the President Liberator should be invested with the supreme command of the republic with full authority in all branches, which he would enjoy until such time as he should judge opportune to convoke the national representation. A record was drawn up of the resolution of the plebiscite, and was forwarded to the council of government, which approved it and without delay sent it to the Liberator, who was then at El Socorro.

6. The Liberals now aimed at nothing else than to kill the Liberator. In the social and public gatherings he received no other name than that of *tyrant* and even the liberal women made a show of talking against the Liberator, whom they ridiculed with nicknames. Everyone saw that something was being prepared and some friends advised the Liberator of it, but he answered them as he had the Venezuelans in Páez' house: "They shall do nothing."

In the month of August, 1828, holidays were celebrated to commemorate the anniversary of the battle of Boyacá and on the 10th., the last of the holidays was the anniversary of the entrance of the Liberator into Bogotá after that glorious march. The municipality planned to honor him with a masked ball in the theatre, and the assassins believed the psychological moment had arrived to carry out their intentions. A party of them entered with hidden weapons to assassinate him on his departure from the function; but fortunately the plotters were too well known, especially a mulatto from Mompox called Lopotes, an officer demoted on account of misconduct, who was going about in the theatre with a certain mysterious air, and talking stealthily with the rest of them. Some of those present became suspicious of what was in the air and withdrew before the end of the ball. The Liberator, warned of the suspicious movement, did likewise, and thus was averted not only his death but that of countless innocent

people, who would have been victims of the disorder and confusion which such an act would have caused in that great gathering.

That attempt having been frustrated the conspirators organized formally a secret conspiracy, naming a board whose director was an old Portuguese by name of Juan Francisco Arganil; among the members figured a Frenchman, Agustín Horment, Pedro Carujo, a taciturn and reserved man, Luis Vargas Tejada, secretary of General Santander, and several others. Old Arganil was one of many adventurers who had come to the country and pretended to be a physician and sage and for better recommendation, he was an apostate friar of those who by the name of *sans culottes* had figured in Marseilles during the French Revolution.

This secret society soon organized other branches, with all secrecy and dissimulation, in the provinces through which the Liberator might possibly transit. So it was, that an attempt was made to carry out the assassination in Soacha whither Bolívar had gone on a pleasure trip of three days, accompanied only by General Urdaneta and the two brothers Mariano and Ramón París. Carujo was this time the tool of the crime, which was not perpetrated because of the opposition of General Santander. This did not deter the conspirators from their antipatriotic intentions and they resolved at a secret meeting that on the 28th. of October, the birthday of the Liberator, he should be killed in an attack on the palace at night. Everything was planned for the successful carrying out of the scheme; and on the 25th. of September an officer of the battalion "Junín", by the name of Francisco Salazar, presented himself to the government stating that the officer Benito Triana had invited him to enter the conspiracy to assassinate the Liberator. The alarm was given, Triana was immediately taken prisoner; but the Chief of Staff, who also belonged to the conspirators, at once advised the Junta of what was occurring. The members met without delay in the house of Vargas Tejada, secretary of Santander, and before their plot could be disclosed, they resolved to strike the blow that very night. They arranged the moves and selected the people who were to execute them. Captain Carujo, Horment, Zuláivar and the mulatto López were to attack the palace with a picket of the battalion of artillery; Silva was to attack the barracks at Vargas with another picket; and the Captains Mendoza and Briceño would take charge of removing Padilla from the prison. The tw

former went out after eleven o'clock at night to accomplish their task; and as they had the pass word, the door of the palace was opened to them. The first sentinel was immediately killed by a dagger thrust of Horment. They continued their entrance, and the same individual killed two other sentinels. Carujo in the meantime surprised the guard, who was not expecting this attack, and was off his guard for the time being. Having reached the upper corridors they proceeded to the rooms which were not locked and they found no other opposition than that offered in the waiting room by the youth Andrés Ybarra, Aide to the Liberator, who with sword in hand kept them back until López disabled him by giving him a thrust in the right arm. They then penetrated in a crowd as far as the last room adjoining that in which the Liberator was sleeping; he upon hearing the assassin leaped from his bed and grasping his sword advanced toward the door; but at this moment Mrs. Manuela Sáenz, who served the Liberator and who was in the interior apartments, on hearing the confusion, came running, and opening the door of the last balcony, forced the Liberator to jump to the street, as his defense was impossible. The latter upon reaching the street ran up the block and on turning the corner toward the convent of the nuns of Carmen, his servant overtook him, the latter fortunately was in the street and seeing his master jump from the balcony, followed him and led him under the bridge of El Carmen, where he remained for more than three hours. There he remained hidden until one of the parties of Vargas, who had been detailed to find him, passed by the bridge announcing that the rebels had been defeated. He joined them and went on to the barracks of Vargas, but finding it deserted he went to the principal plaza where were, the Secretary of War, General Urdaneta, the "intendente", the governor General-in-chief Joaquín París, a portion of the troops and many other chiefs and people who had gone out to join them. There the Liberator was received with the greatest transports of joy, everyone embracing him, chiefs and soldiers alike, unable to manifest to him the anxiety they felt for his person and the joy at seeing him safe. On the same night of the plot, were seized Horment, Zuláivar, Pedro Celestino Azuero, López, and the greater part of the artillery men who had been involved in the conspiracy, bribed by the promise of entire forlough, six months pay and the plunder of the city. The conspirators

believed that a great many of the populace would join them, and the contrary resulted, for the people horror stricken remained locked up in their houses frightened to death, and the people who did go out went to join with the parties of the Vargas battalion who was running down the assassins.

Don Antonio Castillo, Doctor Miguel Tobar and other worthy people were of the opinion that the blessing which Colombia had received from Providence in the salvation of the life of the Liberator and father of his country, by his lucky escape through the window, should be commemorated by a marble slab with an inscription which was to transmit the memory of that deed to future generations. This was done, the Cabildo of the city financed the slab and Dr. Tobar himself was appointed to draw up the inscription in Latin.

7. The immediate result of the conspiracy was that Bolívar was obliged to bring into full play, the extraordinary powers which up to then he did not care to use, and he issued the decree of the 26th. of September, 1828, in which he declared that he would wield the authority which by national vote had been entrusted to him. A special and mixed tribunal was formed of four military chiefs and four lawyers chosen for their honesty, wisdom and patriotism in order briefly and summarily to judge the conspirators. Those chosen were the Chief of Staff, Gen. José María Córdoba; the commanding general, Colonel Joaquín París; and generals Francisco de P. Vélez and José María Ortega. The lawyers were: The Minister of the Supreme Court, Doctor Francisco Pereira; the fiscal of the upper court, Dr. Joaquín Pareja; Dr. Manuel Alvarez and Dr. Joaquín Gori.

The first ones condemned to death were Horment, Zuláibar, Silva, Galindo and López, who were executed on the 30th. of September; general Padilla and colonel Ramón Guerra, who suffered the same penalty on the second of October; Pedro Celestino Azuero y Nestrosa, a sergeant and four artillery men suffered the same penalty on the fourteenth of the same month. There were no other executions: the others condemned to death, among them General Santander obtained from the Liberator the commutation of the death sentence for imprisonment. General Santander was condemned to death not because he had taken part in the crime of the 25th. of September, but as counselor and abettor of the conspiracy. Bolívar commuted it to that of temporary banishment.

8. In the same year in which the Most Rev. Higinio Durán was taking over this diocese there came into the world a child, son

of a distinguished family of this capital, who later was destined to be priest and to lend the Church very important and significant service. This child was he, who afterward was called Monsignor Fermín Jované, born on the eighth of July of said year 1817, legitimate son of Don José María Jované and Doña Josefa Arce, persons of piety and means, who from the start gave the greatest care to his education, developing in him the religious sentiments with which they saw him gifted. Just as soon as the child was ready to undertake studies they placed him in the seminary directed at that time by Dr. Don Juan José Cabarcas González, who was the successor of the Most Rev. Durán in the See of Panamá. The beautiful moral and intellectual gifts of which the youth Jované, gave evidence, won for him the estimation and affection of the superiors, especially of the rector, who on account of his good disposition chose him to be one of the party who was to accompany him to Cartagena when he went to be consecrated in that city. He continued to merit the esteem and confidence of his prelate, in the capacity of his attendant, until ordained as priest on the eighteenth of August of 1840, he was destined to the services of parochial ministry.

He celebrated his first Mass on the twenty-fourth of September in the church of La Merced, adding by that act greater solemnity to the ceremony which in that church it is customary to celebrate on that day, the feast of its titular patron saint. The attendance was numerous and select, honored by the presence of two bishops; i.e., the bishop of the diocese and Most Rev. Doctor José González Rubio, first bishop of Pasto, who was in transit in the city.

He held several important offices in which he manifested the zeal which inspired him and the interest which he took in the welfare of souls and the good progress of the diocese. He was parish priest of the Cathedral, rector of Chepo, territorial Vicar of Natá and later canon of the Cathedral. When Rev. Señor Dr. Eduardo Vásquez was proclaimed bishop of Panamá in Bogotá, 1853, he conferred upon Mgr. Jované special right to take possession of the diocese in his name, and later chose him his Vicar General and Archdeacon of the Ecclesiastical Cabildo.

During the religious storm aroused by General Tomás Cipriano Mosquera, which commenced in 1860 and ended with the fall of that tyrant, Monsignor Jované demonstrated his executive

ability, prudently and energetically facing a situation in every way exceptional, remaining by the banishment of Señor Vásquez, in charge of the diocese as its governor. He faced the civil authorities and he succeeded, by rare and prudent tact, in saving the interests of the Church which had remained in his care. He was obliged in spite of all to become a victim of sectarian persecution and to go into exile.

The Most Rev. Señor Vásquez having died in Rome whither he had gone to attend the Vatican Council, Monsignor Jované once more took charge of the government of the diocese in the quality of Capitulary Vicar. Upon the arrival of Most Rev. Señor Parra, successor of Señor Vásquez, he gave him an extensive report of the facts of his government and the measures which he had taken to succeed in making the nation recognize the nominal income which belonged to the churches of the state. These opportune measures resulted in the saving from the laws of tuition and disentail the lands of Sábana Grande and other ecclesiastical properties, and yielded a considerable amount of funds with which Most Rev. Señor Parra was enabled to complete the entire repair of the cathedral, which was on the verge of ruin; the new blessing of this temple coincided with the consecration of the Most Rev. José Telésforo Paúl, which took place on the twenty-fifth of March, 1876. By the promotion of Most Rev. Señor Paúl to the Archbishopric of Bogotá (1884) Monsignor Jované once again was left in charge of the government of the diocese during the vacancy, until February of 1886, when the See was taken over by the Most Rev. Don Alejandro Peralta.

Not only in the ecclesiastical order as priest did Monsignor Jované render to his diocese services which we have just enumerated, but also in the civil order as a citizen did he render them to his country. In 1844 he was elected member of the Administrative Council of the Compañía Prestamista (Loan Company), instigated by the government for the repair of the road of Chagres, the idea being initiated by this council to form a contract for the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus, an enterprise which was inaugurated ten years afterward. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly which met in 1855 after the foundation of the state of Panamá. In 1858 he was named first supplementary senator, and in spite of his having been called to occupy his seat in the Congress of Bogotá he was not able to attend because of the

revolution of Melo. In 1859 he exercised the functions of Magistrate of the court ad interim. After 1870 he held various other positions of importance such as, general director of public instruction; president of the Board of Cemeteries, to his initiative being due the repair of the facade of the so-called Old Cemetery, where repose the ashes of the instigators of the independence. During fourteen years he was member, and for seven years president, of the Board of Charity of the Santo Tomás Hospital; this board was the one which in 1880 sent for the Sisters of Charity, who had charge of that hospital until the installation of the North American Regime for the construction of the Canal.

Monsignor Jované died on the first of April, 1904, with a harvest of good works, and left a void in the church and in the country who gratefully transmit to posterity the memory of this illustrious son of Panamá.

9. Most Rev. Señor Cabarcas died in Panamá on the fifteenth of April, 1847. Herewith the death record: "No. 20.— In the city of Panamá on the 17th. day of the month of April, 1847: I, father Bernardino de Urbina, parish priest of the parish of Saint Philip Neri. Sagrario of this Cathedral, testify that in this day there has been given ecclesiastical burial to the body of bishop Señor Don Juan José Cabarcas, Most Reverend Bishop of this diocese, with full ceremony, pall, coffin, tolls, censer, responses, and with cortege and attended by the Bishop Coadjutor, Venerable Dean and Cabildo, with all solemnity. He received sacraments of penance and extreme unction and as testimony I sign. He died on the fifteenth day of the current month at 10:30 p.m.—Bernardino de Urbina."

CHAPTER XLI

1. Friar Señor Don Juan Francisco del Rosario Manfredo y Ballestas, forty-first Bishop of Panamá.
2. Record of visit.
3. Death of the Liberator.
4. Persecution of the Church by General José Hilario López.
5. Death of Bishop Manfredo.
6. Contract and construction of Panama Railroad.
7. First steamers which arrived to the Isthmus.
8. Commercial movement produced by steam navigation.
9. Outbreak of cholera morbus.
10. First newspapers.
11. Foundation of the Province of Chiriquí.

1. Bishop Señor Cabarcas was succeeded in the government of the diocese by Most Rev. Don Juan Francisco del Rosario Manfredo y Ballestas, who took it over on the tenth of March, 1848. He was a native of Cartagena and Bishop Coadjutor of Most Rev. Señor Cabarcas.

2. Of his episcopacy we find only one report of visit made in the parish of Alanje on the twenty-fifth of May, 1849, during which as a result of the poor condition in which he found the record books, he orders the priest to have them bound, or at least to have them firmly sewed after having classified and placed in order the loose leaves which, so it seems, were very numerous. He also orders the priest mentioned to observe, in regard to the emancipated slaves, the laws stipulated by the civil authority, without specifying what laws these were.

3. Upon the death of the Liberator, which took place in the hacienda of San Pedro Alejandrino, near Santa Marta, on the seventeenth of December, 1830, all the republic was converted into a veritable field of "Agramante." The Cauca, Panamá, Río Hacha, Mompox and all the provinces of the North, were in a complete state of distress, a condition which lasted even to the epoch in which Most Rev. Manfredo y Ballestas was appointed Bishop of Panamá.

The Liberator being ill, had moved from Cartagena to Soleidad and Barranquilla, where he remained during the months

of October and November (1830). Every day he became more depressed in spirit, he found himself alone, if not actually abandoned, given up to the sad reflections which were to embitter the existence of a man, who reviewing his entire life found nothing but one continuous sacrifice which was being repaid by the darkest ingratitude. What disillusionment! The Bishop of Santa Marta and General Montilla urged insistently that he move to that city where he could have better attention; every day the Liberator felt weaker and more ill. Yielding to the persuasion of those friends, he resolved to make his journey by sea and arrived at Santa Marta on the first of December, but in a state of lamentable exhaustion. There he recovered a little by the medicines which two foreign doctors prescribed, Doctor Próspero Reverand, a Frenchman, and the North American Doctor McNight. His cough, the pains in his chest and his insomnia were slightly alleviated. They decided to take him to the country as he desired, in order to breathe the fresher air, and on the sixth he was taken to the hacienda of San Pedro, the property of Don Joaquín Mier, at a distance of a league from the city. He seemed to improve during the first days; but from the eighth he became considerably worse. There he was accompanied by Bishop Estévez and various other military and civil friends. The Bishop, despairing then of the health of the Liberator advised him that it would be fitting for him to prepare himself for the reception of the Sacraments. The Liberator requested to be allowed to remain alone for several hours in order to prepare himself and then he made his Confession to the priest, who took him the Blessed Sacrament which he received in an edifying manner. On the tenth he made his will and immediately in order to take leave of the Colombians he dictated to the secretary the following last proclamation:

Colombians! You have witnessed my efforts to implant liberty where tyranny once reigned. I have worked disinterestedly, abandoning my fortune and even my peace of mind. I gave up the Command when I was persuaded that you distrusted my disinterestedness. My enemies took advantage of your credulity and undermined what is most sacred to me, my reputation and my love of liberty. I have been the victim of my persecutors who have led me to the gates of the tomb. I forgive them.

Upon leaving your midst, my affection tells me that I must make the manifestation of my desires. I aspire to no

other glory than the consolidation of Colombia. You must all work toward the inestimable good of the union of the people, by obeying the present government in order to free themselves from anarchy, the ministers of the Sanctuary, by addressing their prayers to Heaven, and the army by employing its sword in defense of social guarantees.

Colombians! My last wishes are for the happiness of the country; if my death will contribute to the cessation of parties and the consolidation of the Union, I shall descend in peace to the tomb.

The Liberator wished to place in this farewell his signature with his own hand, and making an effort he rose in bed, took the pen and wrote for the last time: SIMON BOLIVAR.

From that same day a delirium set in from which he was free but for a few moments; that life which had inspired a whole world was ebbing until the seventeenth of December, when he expired at one o'clock in the afternoon, surrounded by the faithful friends who assisted him and who shed tears at the contemplation of the end of so much glory, of so many services, of so many sacrifices repaid with the bitterest ingratitude.

After an autopsy was made by Dr. Reverand, he found the lungs slightly affected, and that the pulmonary pleura were adhered to the costal pleura. According to the opinion of this physician, the illness which led to the death of the Liberator was in its incipency a pulmonary cold which having been neglected became chronic and eventually developed into tuberculosis.

The Liberator died at the age of forty-seven years, four months and twenty-three days; he was born in the city of Caracas on the twenty-fourth of July of 1783. What far greater services might this great man have rendered his country had not the vile passions of his contemporaries driven him to the grave in the full vigor of his age!

General Montilla and Bishop Estévez conducted the obsequies of the Liberator in the most decorous manner possible, in the cathedral, laying the body to rest in one of the vaults, without any special mark of distinction. The grave of the Conqueror Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada was covered with a banner of conquest; that of the Liberator Simón Bolívar was not draped with the flag of the independence, which he bore victoriously even to planting it on the summit of Potosí!—(Groot, Ecc. Hist.)

4. In consequence of the political unrest which reigned in

all the republic General José Hilario López adopted violent and oppressive measures during his presidential administration. Faithful to the liberal doctrines which he professed, he took it upon himself to issue laws hostile to the Church which, as was to be expected provoked protests from the Bishops, clergy and the Catholics. The government determined to enforce his rules, decreed banishment of the religious Communities, bishops, clergy and all those who opposed these rules.

5. The Most Rev. Señor Manfredo y Ballestas escaped this persecution, because he died in Santiago de Veraguas, where he was carrying out his pastoral visit, on the twenty-first of April, 1850, before the orders of the tyrant reached Panamá. The following inscription may be read on the stone which covers the sepulchre in the parochial church of the capital of Veraguas: "Here lies the mortal remains of the Most Reverend Dr. Francisco Manfredo y Ballestas, native of Cartagena, coadjutor of the Most Rev. Señor Cabarcas and afterwards Bishop of Panamá from 1847-1850. While on a pastoral visit he died in this city of Santiago de Veraguas on the twenty-first of April, 1850. R. I. P."

6. During General José Hilario López' administration, and when the governor of the province of Panamá was Don José de Obaldía, who replaced General Tomás Herrera, appointed to fill the office of Minister of War in Bogotá, a contract was formed and the work commenced on the interoceanic railroad of Panamá, the first which was constructed in South America. Although already in 1837 and 1845 the North Americans Charles Biddle and Mathew Klein, respectively, had obtained the privilege for its construction, they nevertheless had not carried out the work, nor even commenced it. William Aspinwall, director of a company of steamers in the Pacific, with the backing of strong foreign capitalists, organized a company to undertake the enterprise which promised abundant benefits due to the ever increasing traffic of passengers and cargo across the Isthmus. The contract was signed on the fifteenth of April, 1850, and without any delay the work was commenced.

The site chosen for the terminus of the railroad on the Atlantic was naturally Portobelo, a town more important than Chagres and whose very beautiful bay lent itself admirably for the harbor of ships, but the usual thing happened. The owners of

the lands through which the railroad was to pass wished to avail themselves of the opportunity to enrich themselves in a moment, exploiting instead of aiding the enterprise. The latter in view of the fabulous prices asked for said lands, determined to establish this terminal on the island of Manzanillo, which boasted a bay equally as good as that of Portobelo and which shortened the distance, thus giving the fatal deathblow to that town and to the covetous proprietors of the lands, the cost of which became much lower than what they had been previously valued, as the traffic came entirely to Manzanillo reducing Portobelo to the state of ruin and abandonment in which today we see it. The same thing occurred with the town of Chagres.

The island of Manzanillo was united to the continent by a magnificent causeway, and there was founded a town to which the Departamental Assembly of 1850 gave the name of "Colón", in honor of the discoverer of America. The work was commenced at that island in May of 1851, and terminated in Panamá on the twenty-seventh of January of 1855, the day on which was placed the last rail in the terminal station of said city. In the short period of three and a half years this work of positive benefit to the entire world was accomplished; although the distance is short (fifty kilometers), the time employed in its construction is also short if consideration be taken of the various and very grave difficulties which the directors were obliged to surmount, not being least among them the death rate of the laborers, caused by the malarial fever, the bites of reptiles and the stings of venomous insects. In truth, Aspinwall well deserves the monument which has been erected to him in Colon, in memory of his great work.

7. Steam navigation, although still very imperfect, was developing with equal rapidity in our seas. In 1848 arrived at our shores the first steamers of two North American Companies; i.e., the "Falcon", which coming from New York via New Orleans, anchored in the bay of Chagres in December of said year; and the "California", sailing from Oregon and California, reached the bay of Panamá in January of 1849. These steamers, of course, were very far from having the size, structure and grace, the comforts, beauty, and speed of those which now frequent our ports; but the novelty of the new class of ships with their high stacks attracted large number of curious people who did not tire of admiring the new invention.

8. The great maritime movement which since that epoch has been developing on the Isthmus, received no small impetus from the discovery of rich gold mines in Upper California, which attracted numerous adventurers from all parts of the world, who came via Panamá as the most expeditious and easiest way to reach the gold region. That movement continued to grow from day to day, each year, attracting to our two principal ports a large number of ships belonging to various maritime companies. Thousands of passengers crossed the Isthmus monthly, travelling in cayucos from Chagres to Gorgona or Cruces, whence they continued generally on men's backs as far as Panamá. One can readily conjecture what difficulties were encountered by that system of travel, the most practical and possible at that time, through a road transited over by droves of mules which kept it in a lamentable condition, and the Chagres being a river hardly navigable by ships of the kind we have described. The poor economic situation of the Isthmus changed favorably with this active traffic in which the muleteers, the artisans, the merchants, the farmers, the cattlemen, the boatmen and even the children obtained lucrative work. Activities very similar to those which enlivened these towns in the time of the fairs of Portobelo were once again seen.

9. During the episcopacy of Most Reverend Señor Manfredo y Ballestas, the diocese was terrifically scourged by an epidemic of cholera morbus introduced from North America by the voyagers who crossed the Isthmus. The first places in which the scourge appeared were naturally Chagres, Gorgona and Cruces, towns situated along the way between the two oceans. From there it promptly spread to the capital, as they were unable to prevent its propagation in spite of the active measures taken by the governor, Don Manuel María Díaz. Families fled terror stricken to the interior towns, carrying the germ of the disease and in this manner also spreading it to the provinces. This plague lasted two years, for it was not until 1850 that it completely disappeared after having made many victims.

10. The construction of the railroad attracted many foreigners to the Isthmus, who took up their residence here. Some of those who had been employed in the work resolved not to return to their own country; and others who arrived later augmented the number of the first. Soon the necessity was felt of the publication of a paper to keep the various travelers in touch with what

was going on in the world. The *Panamá Star* was the first published on the twenty-fourth of February, 1849, in the city of Panamá, and on the second of July, 1853, the first number of the *Aspinwall* was published in Colón.

11. In 1849 the Province of Chiriquí was formed, separating from that of Veraguas the Canton of Alanje with all the towns that composed it. The first governor of this new province was Don Pablo Arosemena. The province of Azuero was also formed, composed of the Cantons of Parita and Los Santos, and the district of Santa María. Don Juan Arosemena was appointed its governor.

CHAPTER XLII

1. Friar Eduardo Vásquez, 42nd. bishop of Panamá.
2. Establishment of the Isthmus into a Federal State.
3. Administration of Doctor Justo Arosemena. His resignation.
4. Revolution of General Mosquera.
5. Don José de Obaldía.
6. Governorship of Don Santiago de la Guardia.
7. Don Manuel María Díaz. Enforcement of the Decree of Tuition.
8. Banishment of Most Reverend Vásquez, of Monsignor Jované and of the nuns of the Immaculate Conception.
9. Death of the Most Reverend Vásquez.
10. Friar Vicente Cornejo.

1. Friar Eduardo Vásquez, Dominican Religious, native of Tunja, was consecrated Bishop of Panamá in Bogotá in the year 1853; but he could not reach his diocese until the fourth of May of 1856 due to the political disturbances which at that time were agitating the republic.

2. In fact, since the creation of the Isthmus into a federal state, toward which steps were taken by Dr. Don Justo Arosemena in the House of Representatives in 1852, but which was not decreed until the twenty-seventh of February of 1855, the situation was ominous, difficult, insecure and not a little dangerous. Dr. Arosemena did whatever his patriotism and zeal suggested to re-establish social tranquillity during his short administration as Chief Executive of the State; but the matter was not so easily accomplished, considering the condition of the rest of the republic, whose influence could not but be felt on the Isthmus.

3. Dr. Arosemena like all rulers had his opponents, who dulled his sound plans in favor of his country, misinterpreted his measures and seized every means possible to counteract his beneficent action. There are still living some of those who were witnesses of his pure patriotism and of the sacrifices which he made to launch on its way to progress, the land of his birth; but a worthy man and of noble ideas, he preferred to resign the post rather than

continue a struggle the results of which time has shown. He resigned irrevocably, and Don Francisco Fábrega was appointed to succeed him.

4. The succeeding administrations of Messrs. Don Bartolomé Calvo and Don José de Obaldía tended especially and in a very marked manner to obtain by means of mild and conciliatory measures the social tranquillity which Dr. Arosemena had initiated. They had accomplished a great deal in that line, and affairs seemed to progress satisfactorily, when the turbulent and disturbing influence of Colonel Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, governor then of Cauca, once again came to disturb peace and tranquillity with one of the bloodiest revolutions which have occurred upon the soil of the country.

5. Don José de Obaldía, who although a liberal, was a man of order and an enemy of insurrection against legitimately constituted governments, would not listen to the insinuations of Colonel Mosquera to lend him his aid in the rebellion which he had just initiated against the national government. He did not permit elements of war destined to foment revolution in the neighboring state, to transit the Isthmus, and he even manifested to the Assembly of 1860, that in the event that the revolution triumphed over the forces of the legitimate government, Panamá would remain free to establish its own and separate government before submitting to the revolutionary yoke.

6. In the elections which took place to designate the governor for the years 1860-1862, Señor Don Santiago de la Guardia was elected. He took charge of the government on the first of October, 1860; Don José de Obaldía consequently ceasing his duties as governor. The new magistrate, not less upright and worthy than his predecessor, continued in the same policy of maintaining the Isthmus isolated from the horrible contention which was devastating the rest of the republic, in spite of the repeated overtures which Mosquera and other chiefs of the revolution in the Department of Bolívar made him to enter into the conflict. This resulted in the leader of the Cauca sending to the Isthmus Colonel Peregrino Santacoloma on a secret mission, of which Mr. Guardia became aware when it was a little late. The development of events resulted in the death of Señor Guardia, who lost his life in the battle which took place in the pass of Capellanía, in Río Chico, of Natá.

7. Don Manuel María Díaz then began to govern. Upon him fell the duty of carrying out in Panamá the celebrated "Decree of Tuition" (18th. of July, 1861) by which the liberal government of General Mosquera suppressed entirely the religious communities throughout the country, confiscated their goods, and ordered their banishment.

8. By virtue of this decree the nuns of the Immaculate Conception, who for years had a convent in Panamá, were expelled on the ninth of September, 1862. Bishop Sr. Vásquez, as was to be expected, was a victim of this persecution and was also banished. Following is an account of the events as described in a document which we have before us:

Severe persecution against the Church was manifested from the eighteenth of July, 1860, in which the victorious hosts of Gen. Mosquera occupied the City of Bogotá. Many Isthmian patriots believed unwarily that they would be able to save this section of the territory from the disastrous effects of that persecution. On the first of October, 1860, Señor Don Santiago de la Guardia took over the governorship of the state and even when his party which defended the legitimate government was overturned in the capital, he continued to struggle heroically in upholding the laws of the republic in the celebrated campaigns of the Cauca and Antioquia, led by Arboleda, Córdova and Henao; in the campaign of Santander and Boyacá by Canal and Valderrama; in those of Tolima and Cundinamarca led by Rivera and Lozano and the heroic skirmishers of Guasca.

Sr. Guardia believed in the false offers of Dr. Murillo and rather than expose this soil to the horrors which oppressed the rest of the states, in an evil hour celebrated the treaty, known in the history of our revolutions, by the name of 'Guardia-Murillo.' Foreign to this writing is the account of all the various upheavals which took place in the city, until that contract was approved by the assembly, after lengthy debates. Suffice it to say that the treaty did not deserve even the honor of being noticed by the Dictator, but the predictions of the friends of the government were not realized; the revolution acquired greater moral prestige by the submission of a state like Panamá, and the disasters succeeded one another with stunning rapidity. On the twelfth of November, fell Julio Arboleda riddled by the bullets of the assassin Juan López, in the sadly celebrated mountain of Berruecos, and on the thirty-first of December Canal was capitulating in the unconquered Pasto.

The Dictator being free from all attention in the interior, it was time to demonstrate that the treaty 'Guardia-Murillo' had been nothing more than a patriotic illusion. Consequently

on June of 1862, he dispatched from Cartagena the battalion "Glorioso" apparently to place itself at the orders of the governor of the state; and as was natural its arrival at this city was a sinister augury that no one should escape from the effects of the governmental decrees, that the decrees of "Tuition" and "Desamortization" would be carried out. On the twenty-fourth of July at night Gov. Guardia abandoned the city and dictated his decree transferring the capital to Santiago de Veraguas. On the twenty-fifth supported by the battalion "Glorioso", the town of the suburb established an actual government which was the forerunner of all those which eventually followed; and on the nineteenth of August the honorable Governor Guardia paid with his life, on the sadly celebrated field of Río Chico, for his love for this land in which he had been born!

It is fitting here to recall, for this was the beginning of religious persecution, that the friends of the illustrious Julio Arboleda wishing to prove whether the tolerance which in all semblance the supporters of the new government were offering were true, in harmony agreed with the Most Reverend Sr. Vásquez to celebrate funeral services for the repose of his soul. The 22nd. of December was the day destined for so pious a ceremony; Sr. Vásquez, famous orator, was to occupy the pulpit; Monsignor Jované was selected to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. A sumptuous catafalque was erected in memory of the poet warrior, with no other inscription than his name. At eight o'clock in the morning, the time when Sr. Vásquez was accustomed to celebrate his daily Mass, the church was surrounded by numerous government forces; a prefect profaned it by informing the prelate right there of an order of arrest; which arrest took place in the midst of general consternation. At twelve o'clock that same day Bishop Sr. Vásquez was setting forth, under strong guard, to be embarked on the English boat which was leaving for Callao.

Notwithstanding these sad occurrences, and in spite of the threats which were made to Monsignor Jované that he suspend the celebration of the funeral services, he remained firm in his purpose in complying with the sacred duties and the obsequies were celebrated with great pomp and an unusual gathering of ladies and gentlemen, who for the very reason of their fears made it a sacred duty not to fail at the meeting in spite of the threats which were made.

From this day the struggle with the civil power was tenacious, and thanks to the opportune measures taken they succeeded in saving the interests of the Church; but this unequal struggle was obliged to result for the Vicar General in the same way as for his prelate: he was given the order of banishment from the republic.

The ninth of September of 1863 will be a day of eternal

memory for Panamá. From early morning the troops were quartered, numerous sentinels watched the avenues of the barracks. Bands of soldiers patrolled the streets full of women and children. And all this unusual movement, what did it mean? It was that the people were awaiting with anxiety the hour when the door of the convent of the Immaculate Conception should open to give exit to those unoffending inmates who never believed that they would again cross those thresholds and much less go to banishment! At noon that day, accompanied by Monsignor Jované, there appeared at the door of the convent, the venerable figure of the superior sister Josefa Carrera, followed by her four companions among whom only two were less than eighty years old. Nothing terrified them—they left everything, family, ties and what is more, that cloister, mute witness of their griefs, their anxieties and their hopes. The holy women and their worthy companion reached Lima in all safety where they were given pious welcome in the convent of La Concepción. Monsignor Jované received the warmest demonstrations of regard from the Ven. Archbishop of Lima, the Most Rev. Señor Goyeneche, who granted him very ample authority to exercise his sacred ministry during his residence in the city of the kings. Those pleasant relations placed him in a position to serve efficaciously not only the Isthmian priests, who also followed the path of banishment, like fathers Conte, Villaverde and Mejía, but also many other Colombians who like him were tasting the bitterness of ostracism.

9. In 1865 the sentence of banishment was lifted from Bishop Sr. Vásquez; but he remained in the diocese a very short time, for he departed to Rome, called to attend the Vatican Council and died in the Holy City; Monsignor Jované remaining in charge of the ecclesiastical government during the vacancy.

10. At the height of religious persecution on the Isthmus was born a brilliant son of this soil, who like Rev. Dr. Don Rafael Lasso de la Vega, in the opinion of a writer, shed more glory on his country than his country could ever give him. We refer to Rev. Father Vicente Cornejo of the Dominican Order.

This illustrious Panaman was born in Santiago de Veraguas on the twenty-fourth of May, 1863. Here follows his respective baptismal record: "In the parish church of the city of Santiago de Veraguas on the twenty-fourth of May of 1863, I, the priest, Juan Manuel Pino, parish priest of same, solemnly baptized, placed oil and chrism on a child who was born on the sixth day of May whom I named Juan José del Carmen, legitimate son of Casimiro Cornejo and Anselma Sánchez. The godparents were Wenceslao

Fábrega and Micaela López, instructed in the obligation and relationship which they have contracted. In witness whereof I place my signature. Juan Manuel Pino." At a very early age the child commenced to give proofs of a spirit very much inclined to piety, which when observed by his christian parents, induced them to take special care of his education, guiding it towards the end which Divine Providence seemed to reveal already at an age, in which the gifts which shone out in their child, are rarely observed, or are not observed at all in other children. Especially remarkable was the devotion which the child professed for Saint Dominic without his having read the life of the saint, nor having ever seen a Dominican, nor even having had anyone converse to him about the saint.

Having reached a certain age the boy as well as his christian parents, consistent with their plans, determined that he go to the seminary to begin the career to which he was plainly called by Heaven. At that time Bishop Telésforo Paúl governed the diocese, and there is preserved a letter from this prelate addressed to Don Casimiro, father of the pupil from Veraguas, in which, at the same time that he describes the praiseworthy conduct of the son in the seminary, he manifests the desire to retain him for the service in the diocese, as needy then as to-day of priests. Others, nevertheless, were the plans of the youthful student, as without misgiving nor fear he manifested at every step. It was not so easy for Friar Vicente to overcome the resistance which his parents opposed to his religious vocation: the usual arguments which are wont to be brought forth in similar cases were not wanting on this occasion. But finally similar to the old and pious father of Saint Jane Frances Fremiot de Chantal, when the latter also was determined to go into a cloister, they said with that faith and submission of which to-day we find rare examples: "If such be the will of God, let it be done and not ours."

There being no Dominican religious in Colombia, nor religious of any kind, because the revolution had already ousted them all, young Cornejo was obliged to go to Spain for his novitiate. It is easy to conceive the difficulties and troubles which an inexperienced youth was obliged to endure, who for the first time left his country, who traveled through places to him unknown and who had to come into contact with individuals whose malice he not even suspected.

He arrived at San Sebastian, where the exploiters of other people's property, seeing his candor and simplicity, despoiled him of all he carried, and had it not been for the Reverend Bishop De Vitoria, who incidentally was there and took charge of sending him to the convent, the poor novice would have undergone worse trials.

He took the religious habit in the convent of Corias, province and diocese of Oviedo in 1880; in 1882, on the second of July, the Feast of the Visitation, he took primary vows and after three years, or in 1885, he took his final vows. In consideration of the notable progress which now as a novice, now as a student, he had made in virtue and in science, the superiors decided to present him for ordination which on the fifth of March, 1887, the Most Reverend Friar Don Ramón Martínez Vigil, Bishop of Oviedo, performed in his Cathedral. The new priest nevertheless continued three more years in the convent of Corias perfecting himself in studies before undertaking the career of professorship to which on account of his abilities the superiors destined him.

In 1894 as the Dominican province of Colombia needed religious for the reorganization, Fathers Friar Pascual Cabello and Friar Vicente Cornejo were designated to go there, the latter having obtained permission from the Father Superior to go to visit his family while passing through Colón, for it had been fourteen years since he had seen them. The month which was planned for him to spend with his people, was prolonged into five, due to the revolution which broke out in 1895; for having arrived in December of 1894 and the revolution having commenced in January of the following year, he was obliged to wait until it calmed a little in order to be able to continue his voyage to Bogotá. In the trip from Facatativá to the Colombian capital he was caught in a severe rainstorm which caused him to contract the illness which led him to his grave a few years after.

From Bogotá he went on to Chiquinquirá, where he arrived on the fifteenth of June of the same year 1895, remaining there until September of 1896 in the fulfillment of various duties confided to him. He returned to Bogotá where he remained only one year, returning to Chiquinquirá in 1897 to remain there four years. He was sent afterwards to the valley of Ecce Homo for one year only, then he proceeded to Tunja where, with intervals, he lived until his death which occurred in the year 1912.

Various and very important were the duties which his order conferred upon him, even that of provincial, in view of the virtues, of the capabilities and talents of such a brilliant religious. He left several written works concerning his order; but what gave him most renown and brought to light his vast and varied knowledge, was a treatise he published refuting a letter which under the title of "Los Intransigentes" (intolerants) the priest Baltasar Vélez V., in an evil hour wrote to Señor Carlos Martínez Silva, a letter overrun with errors of doctrine of which the liberal Colombians immediately took advantage to combat the Church. Friar Vicente Cornejo victoriously refuted the arguments of the semi-apostate and stemmed the impious propaganda which was being spread on account of the unfortunate letter. The letter referred to, together with the brilliant treatise of Friar Vicente were sent to Rome, the one as accused and the other as accuser. The Congregation of the Index in view of both documents condemned the former and praised the latter. This is one of the best stamps of glory of our illustrious compatriot. Only too soon did this brilliant son of Panamá die, who had it not been for the serious illness contracted in the Sabana de Bogotá, would have continued lending extremely important service to the church and especially to his country. The writer of these lines, upon being named apostolic administrator of Panamá did all in his power so that the saint and scholar Friar Vicente Cornejo be made the successor of Monsignor Junguito; and without doubt he would have become so if God in his divine wisdom had not called him to the reward of his virtues. He died in Tunja at dawn of Holy Monday of 1912.

CHAPTER XLIII

1. Most Rev. Sr. Don Ignacio Antonio Parra, 43rd. bishop of Panamá. Edict of the 5th. of July.
2. Report of Monsignor Jované.
3. Repairs to the Cathedral.
4. Moral and religious state of the diocese. Fathers Paúl and Pozo.
5. The Seminary is founded. Various decrees of Sr. Parra.
6. Reorganization of the Archives of the Curia. (Ecclesiastical Court).

1. The successor of the Most Rev. Dr. Don Eduardo Vásquez, was Most Rev. Sr. Dr. Ignacio Antonio Parra, native of Tunja, consecrated in Bogotá on the 16th. of April, 1871, by the Ill. Sr. Arbeláez, Archbishop of that diocese.

The Isthmus was still under the dire influence in which it was left by the oppressive laws issued by the dictator Mosquera, which had completely destroyed the little tranquillity which had been enjoyed for several years. Affairs instead of improving seemed to grow worse. The edict of the 5th. of July, headed by Gen. Buenaventura Correo, who overthrew the administration of Don Juan José Díaz, and the restless government of this general, had made peace and tranquillity even more remote.

2. Bishop Parra arrived on the Isthmus during this state of affairs, he received a welcome in accordance with his dignity. signor Jované, who had governed the diocese during the vacancy, gave the new prelate an extensive report of the facts of his government and of measures which he had taken to attain that the nation recognize the nominal income which belonged to the various churches of the state, which had been despoiled by the decrees of tuition and disentanglement.

3. Bishop Parra found the Cathedral building in a really deplorable condition; it was very near falling and becoming a heap of ruins. This may well be understood, after more than twelve years of internal struggle which confused and paralyzed everything; after the violent plunder which all the buildings and properties of the church suffered; after the banishment of the bishops and notable members of the clergy; after a persecution, without precedence

in the history of Colombia, made against Catholics for the crime only of being Catholics, forcing many of the best known families to emigrate to different countries; not only the Cathedral but all the churches of the diocese were, as a result of the complete abandonment, in a state of ruin. The prelate inverted the first needs of the nominal income to repair the historical edifice which was well worthy of it, because it was one of the best and oldest Cathedrals of America.

4. The moral and spiritual edifice of the diocese was not in any better condition than the material: some survivors of those days have told us: "the very little or no religion at all which then existed was painful." This is sufficient to form an idea of the rest, for where there is no religion there are no morals and where there are no morals the result is obvious. It can be well understood, we repeat again, that a series of years taken up in political upheavals and in the persecution of precisely those persons engaged in inculcating religion and morals into the people, would bring the country to the lamentable condition in which the Most Rev. Sr. Parra found it.

The first efforts of the prelate were devoted to removing these evils as far as possible, for on the one hand the penury of the priests, and on the other the penury of the churches made complete improvement almost next to impossible. A merciful God came to the aid of the anxious bishop, sending him two apostles who with zeal and true evangelical spirit devoted themselves to the task, extremely difficult and thankless at that time, of once more bringing back the straying sheep to the fold. These two apostles were Rev. Fathers Telésforo Paúl and Roberto del Pozo, of the Society of Jesus, who afterwards wore mitres. One, as bishop of Panamá, successor of bishop Parra, who was removed to the See of Pamplona, and the other as bishop of Guayaquil. They both came from Central America, whence religious communities had been expelled for identically the same reasons which the dictator Mosquera took to expel them from Colombia.

The illustrious missionaries commenced by saying the Rosary in the church of La Merced with the attendance of few of the faithful, old ladies in great majority, of whom their first congregation was practically composed. A few words said after the service with true apostolic spirit, were in the nature of the mustard seed which was planted in the hearts of those assiduous attendants,

to spread the news among the others. God blessed the efforts and zeal of the noble missionaries who had the consolation of seeing that faith, which they found almost dead, revive and the customs improve as a consequence of the preaching of the divine word.

5. Fortunately Rt. Rev. Parra happened to reach the Isthmus at a time comparatively peaceful though a peace of short duration; nevertheless, it permitted him to devote himself to repair the evils which he found. General Correocho resigned the governorship of the state, and in his place came General Gabriel Neira, who on the 1st. of October, 1872, initiated conciliatory politics; this state of affairs nevertheless did not last long, for on the 5th. of April, 1873, President Neira fell and was succeeded by Don Dámaso Cervera.

However, the prelate devoted himself to issuing some measures which for the time being he judged necessary and indispensable.

He commenced by organizing in the best manner possible a kind of seminary in which he might assemble a few boys, in order to see if it would be possible to obtain ecclesiastical vocations of which the diocese was in such great need. For this purpose he issued his decree of the 10th. of October, 1872, in which he founds it and establishes the condition of admission for the intern pupils. With the date of December 1st., 1875, we find four other decrees: the first regulating the services of the vicaries and parishes; the second establishing the conferences of moral and lithurgical cases for the clergy; the third regulating the collecting of tithes; and the fourth explaining a decree issued on the 15th. of July of 1872 anent matrimonial affairs and dispensations and fixing its meaning, as it had been misinterpreted.

6. By another decree of the 20th. of June 1872, he reorganizes the Archives of the Curia, a great part of which had been burned by the fire which destroyed the Episcopal Palace on the 19th. of February, specifying the books which were to be reopened; and by the decree of the 1st. of July of the same year he imposes penalties on the priests who without an excuse acknowledged to be legitimate, failed to attend the conferences of Moral and Lithurgical cases.

In 1875 Rt. Rev. Sr. Parra was removed to the diocese of Pamplona, remaining, nevertheless, in charge of the government of the Panamá diocese until the consecration of Rev. Paúl.

CHAPTER XLIV

1. Most Rev. Sr. Don José Telésforo Paúl, forty-fourth bishop of Panamá. His birth. His entrance into the Society of Jesus.
2. Persecution of General José Hilario López.
3. College of Jesuit Fathers in Guatemala.
4. Persecution of General Mosquera.
5. The Society founds a house in Salvador.
6. The Jesuits are banished from Salvador.
7. A residence is established in Panamá.
8. Visit to Darién and Bocas del Toro.
9. Origin of the town of Bocas del Toro.
10. Arrival of Sisters of Charity in Panamá.
11. Founding of a house for the Sisters.
12. A hospital is established for foreigners.
13. The School of San Felipe is founded.
14. An annex for boys is opened.
15. A school is opened in the suburbs.
16. Hospital of Santo Tomás and of Ancón.
17. Founding of the Bolívar Asylum, and the Orphanage of Malambo.
18. Decrees of Bishop Paúl. His transfer to Bogotá.

1. Monsignor Parra was succeeded by Dr. Don José Telésforo Paúl, S. J., who was raised to the See, August 17th. of 1875, and consecrated on the 25th. of March of the following year in the Cathedral by Rt. Rev. Parra. He was born in Bogotá on the 5th. of January of 1831, and at the age of thirteen he entered the Society of Jesus, that is, on the 29th. of Nov., 1844. From childhood he was distinguished for his clear intelligence and his outstanding qualities, especially for a rare affability which endeared him to all who had dealings with him.

2. On account of the persecution instigated by General José Hilario López in 1850, religious communities were banished from Colombia and for this reason, young Paúl was sent by his superiors to Spain to continue and terminate his studies.

3. Having been ordained priest on the 5th. of Dec., 1855,

he was sent to Guatemala, where the Jesuit Fathers had established a college, the best which before or since, Central America has ever had. In this famous and celebrated college, were educated and cultured men who afterwards occupied distinguished positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in the forum, and in the magistracy, a great many of them becoming very noted in the politics of those states. Rt. Rev. Sr. Llorente, 1st. bishop of Costa Rica, took great pride in having been a pupil of the Jesuits in the famous College of Guatemala and there having made his studies of the Humanities and Ecclesiastical Sciences. Doubtlessly in those times in which not even steam navigation existed in these oceans, and consequently wealthy aristocratic families were not able to send their sons to study and prepare for a career in foreign countries, the Jesuit Fathers rendered an immense service to Central American youth economizing time, money, labors and anxieties for the Christian families, and even those who were not Christian, by the foundation of the college.

4. In 1858 he was called by his Superiors to Bogotá, where he remained until the persecution of Gen. Mosquera in 1861, who banished from Colombia all religious communities. He returned to Guatemala, former scene of his activities and apostolic zeal, exercising there a faithful ministry in every phase of goodness, which won for him the regard not only of the Guatemalans but also of some Salvadoreans who had dealing with him and conceived the project of founding a Jesuit House in the Cuzcatleca capital (1870).

5. Rev. Fathers Telésforo Paúl and Roberto Pozo were those chosen to make this foundation; but unfortunately a short time after their arrival in the neighboring republic the revolution of 1871 broke out, which elevated to the presidency General Santiago González, a liberal, stupid and barbaric, who **did not** even wait to establish himself in power, before undertaking against the Church one of the most anti-religious and brutal campaigns recorded in the history of Central America.

6. Of course the two Jesuit Fathers were the leaders on the road to exile (1872) and after them followed the rest of the religious orders resident in the country. In 1873 the expulsion was made to include the illustrious prelate José Luis Cárcamo y Rodríguez, the Ecclesiastical Cabildo and a great many worthy priests who would not submit to the exigencies of the tyrant, who later,

having been dethroned in his turn, was obliged to end his days miserably and sadly in Nicaragua, the same place whither he had banished the victims of his wrath.

7. Rev. Fathers Paúl and Pozo went to Panamá and while they received their respective orders for Ecuador, they devoted themselves to the exercise of their ministry in the manner we described in the preceding chapter. In the meantime Rt. Rev. Señor Parra, seconded by Gen. Buenaventura Correoso, president of the state, negotiated efficaciously for the foundation of a residence in the city.

8. Upon the elevation to the episcopal See, the first care of bishop Sr. Paúl, was to visit his extensive diocese without excluding the region of Darién, whither during ninety years no bishop had gone. In the same way overcoming great difficulties and exposing himself to manifest dangers, he made a visit to Bocas del Toro. There was yet no church in the town, nor parish priest, but there were some Catholics of different nationalities who had gone thither to live, attracted by the active commerce of coast trade in which various English and North American merchants were engaged.

9. In the book of Baptisms of that parish corresponding to the year 1883, we find an account given by bishop Paúl himself in regard to the origin of the town of Bocas del Toro, and of which he made a record for history. It reads thus:

Brief account reference to the origin of the town of the region of Bocas del Toro.—Having found here people of advanced age and good faith who have lived for a long time in this territory, I asked them what they knew of its origin and I put down in writing here, what they have told me, as a matter of record.

After the independence of Colombia, a commander González imposed heavy taxes on the islands of San Andrés and Providencia, and in order to withdraw from the resultant exigencies, Messrs. Daniel and Tadeo Simón emigrated with all their slaves and came to settle here, where they found only a few ranches of native fishermen. This occurred in the year 1826 or 27. In the same year, there also came from San Andrés two other brothers, Englishmen, Messrs. John and Victor Peterson, and they also brought all their slaves. In the year 1828 came the Messrs. Brent, brothers, with their family and slaves.

The descendants of these families and of their slaves are those who here are known by the name of Creoles, almost all of them of the Methodist sect. Several grandchildren of those

first founders are still living. To this number also belonged the descendants of the Shepherd brothers and of two other North American brothers, named Joseph and Thomas Knapp. The Shepherds, partners of another called Humphreys, did all coastwise trading of these shores, from Cape of Gracias a Dios to Darién.

When the two brothers arrived from Baltimore, from where they originated, the Shepherds and the Humphreys wished to prevent them from exercising commerce in order to have the monopoly of it. On this account and in order to carry on his trade, Joseph Knapp went to Cartagena, exposed what was happening, made known the country and asked the government of the province of Nueva Granada to give him guarantees.

The government of Cartagena then sent two ships, the "Cartagenero", and the "Tolima" (and the canoe "Arrogante"). Sr. Ildefonso de Paredes came as political chief. The latter took possession of the territory and hoisted the Granadian flag on said island on the 18th. of Dec., 1838. The commander of the ships was Sr. Ramón Iglesias. The fifty soldiers which Paredes brought remained stationed here, and the bongo "Arrogante" also remained permanently in the port; the two ships guarded the coast and were sometimes in Cartagena and at others here. The custom house was established in the year 1840, under the government of Señor Vicente Díaz, a native of Cartagena, who succeeded Paredes. The latter had imposed an arbitrary fine and for that reason was obliged to escape disguised as a woman. The customhouse chief was Sr. Don Pepe Mainer.

In the year 1845 there came from Bogotá as prefect, Sr. Ricardo de la Parra, a man of notable talent, who died between the years 1876-1877 in Medellín, a victim of elephantiasis; and having publicly denounced exaggerated ideas which he had professed for many years, and having fervently received the Holy Sacraments, he died a faithful son of the church.

During his government there were established here the Presidio, (although, according to others, it had been established in 1836), and a House of correction for women. He ruled well, and in 1848 left; his brother Francisco taking his place, who in turn left in 1849, leaving this place in complete abandonment, as the government already had withdrawn the troops a year before. (A marginal note says that Juanelo Parra remained to rule after withdrawal of Don Francisco).

In said year, 1849, Bocas del Toro was added to the province of Panamá in the form of a town of Veraguas, and a Mr. Ruata from Panamá came with troops and took possession. He was accompanied by a Sr. Napoleón Benítez, a captain in the capacity of Political Chief. The customs continued under his authority.

While the office was vacant some lawless men who were here, seized the park, sent him (Benítez) in an English ship to

Cartagena, raised a Mosquitia flag and ejected several Colombians. When Sr. Ruata arrived the revolutionaries had fled, but he, by conciliatory means, recalled them and they returned to their homes.

In the year 1859 this was added to the department of Colón as a territory, and Sr. Ildefonso Bracho came as the political chief.

The island is seven leagues long and three and a half wide. Its name in the Old English maps is the "Islands of Colombus"; the one which is opposite, is named "Cristóbal"; the opening to the sea is called "Bocas del Toro." This is in front of the town, where there is a rock, which seen from a distance resembles a bull in the act of raising, and the Cape, which is near it, is called "Cabo Toro."

The island of Colón or Bocas del Toro is the capital. In the island of "Bastimentos" or "Provisiones" are towns known today by the names of "Old Bank", "Fish Creek", in the river of that name, "Sixaola", in the river so named, and is today the boundary of Costa Rica; the hamlets are "Bocas del Drago", on this same island, "Carrining-cay" (island), "Nauciscay", or "Solarte" (island), "El Guarumo", "Changuinola", "Chiriquí Grande" and "Río Biara".

There are produced in very large quantities cocoanuts, sarsaparilla and tortoise shell; and in small quantity, rubber. About sixteen ships come every year to carry these products. It is believed that there are exported annually 30,000 pesos in cocoanuts, 8,000 in sarsaparilla and from 7,000 to 8,000 in tortoise shell.

According to a trial census which has been made this year there are 1021 inhabitants in the capital; 291 in Old Bank, and more than 2,000 in the whole territory, including the latter.

The Creoles for the most part are Methodists, and those who come from Chiriquí and other places of Colombia, are Catholics. There is a church built here by the Methodists, and another in Old Bank, both small, made of wood. A minister called Brovon lived here twenty-seven years and died almost demented last year. After his death there came a woman accompanied by a man, who by some unknown art transmitted to the Methodists, and especially to the women, a disease of convulsion which used to cause them almost to lose their reason and made them claim to be talking with God or with the spirit. They called that "revival", and they even reached the point of removing the benches from the church, and spending the night, with the doors closed, men and women, praying, singing and uttering loud shouts caused by the spells. The promoters of these commotions and illness went to Old Bank, and to Fish Creek, and the inhabitants armed themselves and would not let them disembark. These revivals disappeared because a minister

came from Colón and forbade them; but to purge themselves of those sins he told them that it was necessary to be baptized by immersion, because baptism by infusion was not valid; and almost all the Methodists from here were led by him to a point, where he built a wharf, and there standing in the water he immersed them in the sea, saying the words of baptism. An old man almost an octogenarian, died eight days later as a result of such a sacrilegious baptism.

Today those old Methodists are Baptists, they are separated from those of Old Bank and have seized the old chapel which the Methodists now dispute with them.

The Catholics are in the minority and have had neither a parish church nor priest, merely receiving from time to time the visit of a priest. Now, they have made a pretty wooden chapel which I have blessed and I am soon going to send them a priest who speaks both languages, Spanish and English.

There are two government schools, and two private schools for the Creoles.

Bocas del Toro, June 24th., 1883.

(Signed) JOSE TELESFORO PAUL, Bishop of Panamá.

The priests who, according to baptismal books, have ministered there since that epoch are the following:

1. Antonio María Sanguillén, who accompanied Bishop Paúl on that visit, remained from the 10th. to the 24th. of June and baptized one hundred fifty-nine.

2. Doctor Eduardo Gubeler, from the 7th. of May, 1884, to the 23d. of August of the same year.

3. Vicente Krautwig, C. M., June 27th.-September 2nd., 1888.

4. Antonio María Sanguillén, accompanied Bishop Peralta, September 1-3 of 1891.

5. José Pablo Volk, September 28th., 1891 to April 6th., 1893.

6. Javier Junguito, from November 25th.-December 10th., 1894.

7. José Pablo Volk (second time), 29th. September, 1895-27th. August, 1898. He was assisted for a short time by the priests Carlos Baschad and James McKendrick.

8. Nicolás Rohden appears first as coadjutor on the 12th. of June, 1898; as parish priest from 14th. of May, 1899, to the 13th. of April, 1902.

9. Carlos Vossenkuhl, from 9th. of October, 1898, to the 14th. of May, 1899.

10. José Pablo Volk (third time).

11. Humberto Pütz, from 2nd. of August to 28th. of December, 1912.

12. Bost and Poirier, from January 1st., 1913-August 4th., 1915.

13. Santiago Bellut, actual parish priest, took charge Nov. 20th., 1915.

The Most Rev. Junguito repeated the canonical visit from the 12th.-19th. of July, 1910.

Rt. Rev. Rojas made his first visit from the 14th.-17th. of October, 1913.

10. At the beginning of the year 1875 there came, banished from Mexico, the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paúl, about 400 in number, of various nationalities, French, Spanish, Irish and Mexicans. All of them were assigned by the superiors to different places, some of them having to pass through Panamá en route to their new residences. There was at the same time banished in the Capital of the Isthmus, when the exiles from Mexico were passing through Panamá, Gen. Don Enrique Palacios, Guatemalan citizen, who knew and greatly esteemed the order of the Sisters because of having been an eye witness to their admirable charity and incomparable abnegation in the duties assigned them in various cities of his own country. Desirous that the city which had given him so hospitable a welcome and where by his outstanding merits he had gained great favor, should profit by the positive and incalculable benefits which the foundation of a Sister house would produce, especially as there was no religious community established in the country, he urged several of the sisters of his acquaintance to delay their voyage for a time, while he made the necessary arrangements, both with the government of the state and with the Superiors of said sisters.

The later aspire only to serve God wherever there is most need and under the dictates of obedience they acceded to his request and delayed their journey in abeyance to the will of God. In the meantime they were lodged in the lower floor of the home of the worthy matron Sra. Manuela F. de Arias.

11. Hardly was the prospect of Gen. Palacios known in the city, when enthusiasm spread throughout, everyone wishing to have a share in the building and to second it in an efficacious and decisive manner. The General took up the matter with Don Pa-

blo Arosemena, president of the state at the time of the arrival of the Sisters; and this well intentioned executive received the splendid plan with gratitude and benevolence; his successor, Gen. Rafael Aizpuru, who occupied the presidency in said year of 1875, doing likewise. There was no delay in the arrival of the approbation of the Superior General of the Community, and the founding of a house of the Sisters of the Charity in the City of Panamá was decreed.

Those designated to found this new house were the worthy Sisters María Boery, as Superior, María Dolores Montes de Oca, Vicenta Prado, Eugenia Acosta, Josefina Changarnier and four others. The remainder continued the voyage to the South American houses where they had been assigned. These, the splendid corner stone, formed the nucleus of the Isthmian foundation and were the presage of the admirable results which were to be produced later and of which we have been eye witnesses.

12. The Sisters commenced their works of mercy by installing as they could a small hospital for the assistance of the foreigners, in an equally small building situated on the seashore in the place where the National Theatre now stands, in the front of the church of San Francisco.

In the provisional building which had been assigned to the Sisters it was impossible to undertake any work, on account of lack of space and adequate conditions. It was agreed then to move them to the house of Sr. Juan Bautista Poyló, opposite that of Señora Julia Bermúdez, widow of Alemán, where they opened two classes and an asylum. General Palacios, being the prime mover in all the activities. We, Panamanians, shall always cherish a pleasant and grateful remembrance of this illustrious Central American who did as much for his adopted country as he would have done for his native land. The Sisters have recorded him in the roster of their benefactors, for such he was to them, and to all a very notable figure while he resided on the Isthmus.

The Secretary of Public Instruction, at that time, Don Manuel José Hurtado, helped Rev. Mother Goery very much, affording her all he could, both for the classroom as well as the asylum, and lending her efficacious and valued assistance. The most select and distinguished of the Panamanian families attended these classes, this being the only school for young ladies, which then existed.

13. Although, when the Sisters arrived in Panamá at the

beginning of 1875, Bishop Sr. Parra was still governing the diocese, awaiting the acceptance of the resignation he had presented to the Holy See, due to his ill health, it fell to Rev. Señor Paúl, named bishop in August of the same year, to support and give impetus to the new foundation.

The number of pupils increased day by day, and as now not only those from the city attended the classes, but pupils also came from the interior, it became necessary to hunt a more ample building. Doubtlessly the one which combined the greatest number of favorable conditions for the purpose was the building adjacent to the parish church of San Felipe, which served as a residence for the parish priest.

Bishop Paúl did not hesitate in ceding it to the community, transferring the parish to La Merced, in order that the church of San Felipe should be reserved for the service of the Sisters. Some difficulties arose on making this change; but the prelate with tact and wisdom knew how to overcome them. The Sisters of Saint Vincent then were housed in the building which they still occupy. They moved to their new residence about the middle of 1876. The community was increased in that year by four sisters who arrived from California, namely, Sisters Felicitas, Enriqueta, Josefina and Ana. The Superior assigned the first to serve as assistant to Sisters Changarnier in the hospital for foreigners, to take in charge the care of the pharmacy.

The following year (1877) there arrived from Paris two new Sisters, who joined the already flourishing and prosperous works established in Panamá. They were Sisters María Rouleau and Vicenta T. The former joined the number of those in charge of the hospital for foreigners, and as there were three of the latter, it was possible to form with them a new house which fixed its residence in the hospital itself, making themselves as comfortable as possible with the nurses, in a kind of tower which was in the building. There they remained under these circumstances, until the French Company of the Canal founded Ancón Hospital in 1883, known at first by the name of "Hospital del Cerro" (Hospital of the Hill), and which was given over to the Sisters.

14. When the classes opened or rather, the school-college, they admitted only girls from the city as well as out of town; but the Rev. Mother Goery saw with regret that the boys were being deprived of the benefits of education. She resolved to extend her

zeal to them also, by opening for them a special class, separate from those of the girls and the asylum, which she put in charge of a very intelligent and efficient Sister, Sister Carlota, who still is remembered with love and gratitude by those who were her pupils and who are today gentlemen in high Panamanian society. This class was kept up until the arrival of the Christian brothers in 1904, at which time Mother Goery closed it, saying: "Now they have come, we are no longer necessary." She continued nevertheless, at request of the families, the section for very small boys, which she herself directed alternating with Sister Carlota.

15. As the school of San Felipe was not sufficiently large for the increasing number who continually applied for admittance, and besides, as it was situated at one of the extremes of the city, Gen. Rafael Aizpuru, Gen. Buenaventura Correoso and Don José Antonio Sosa, became very much interested in having a new school for girls opened, in charge of the Sisters in the Santa Ana district, called Arrabal (suburb). Rev. Mother Goery acceded willingly to so just a petition, and in 1882 founded said school, appointing Sisters Vicenta Linarte and Josefina C. to direct it.

As Sister Linarte was employed in the Santo Tomás Hospital, Sister María Labattu was named to replace her. At the beginning the school was opened in the Calle Real, in a house belonging to the diocese, known by the name of "Portal de Palo" (wooden doorway), to distinguish it from another neighboring one which had a concrete doorway.

The success obtained by the Sisters with the classes already established and the delight of the parents with the education given the girls, caused them to enter them at a very early age, many of them being four or five years old. The kind and obliging Superior admitted them yielding to the insistence of their parents; but this not being in conformity with the current regulations of public instruction, the Rev. Mother was notified that she should dismiss them, as the government would not be responsible for the pupils younger than the age specified by the rules. The Superior keenly felt this measure which prevented her from tracing those little girls from their younger days, in which reason commences to manifest itself, and which exposed them to dangers of being lost at the side of mothers who were careless or perhaps evil living. Fortunately there was at the head of the Department of Public Instruction a man of sound principles, of good religious ideas and

a true enthusiast for the good of youth and childhood, Dr. Salomón Ponce Aguilera. Said gentleman agreed with Mother Goery in that she continue the class of the little girls in a room which was unoccupied in the same school, at the expense of the Mother who would pay the teacher and defray the rest of the expenses which such a section demanded. This class lasted until the death of Rev. Mother Goery, who died in 1907.

16. The Hospital of Santo Tomás, whose foundation dates to the year 1695, when the bishop of the diocese was Don Diego Ladrón de Guevara, underwent important repairs during the episcopal administration of Rev. Friar Higinio Durán in 1819, which amounted to a complete reconstruction. It is to this that the inscription alludes which can be seen in this hospital and reads thus: "The Most Rev. Bishop diocesan Friar José Higinio Durán, Messrs. Ventura Martínez and Don José María Vera, are the founders of this hospital dedicated to the relief of suffering humanity. The sons of Panamá respecting the final paternal wish of Martínez and giving sufficient means to finish it, in addition to the cooperation of the sponsor Don José María Blanco, completed it in January of 1842. A. D."

Later Dr. Amador Guerrero, president of the recently founded Republic of Panamá, enlarged it and gave it the improvement it has today.

When the French company was formed for the construction of the interoceanic Canal across the Isthmus, they founded the Ancon Hospital on the hill of this name for the relief of the high employees, and the laborers of the great work, and confided its care to the Sisters. Santo Tomás hospital was also confided to their care. Both were under their direction until the year 1905, in which the North American government, who succeeded the French company in the construction of the Canal, introduced the service of nurses. The history of the hospital founded in Colón by the same company is similar.

17. By decree of the Government there was founded on the 10th. of September, 1888, the Asilo Bolívar, whose administration was entrusted to the Sisters. The one selected for this work were Sisters Teresa, Luisa, and Susana. Later this personnel was changed and at present in charge of that asylum are Sisters Luisa Guilleret, superior, and six other sisters.

At this time also the Sisters founded, or rather took charge,

of another asylum, which under the name of Orphan Asylum of San José de Malambo, was founded by Sr. Manuel Jaén, who left a house which he owned in the Malambo district to that religious community or society which would undertake its management. The Sisters, with Sister Vicenta Montealegre as superior, continue with this asylum.

18. Various decrees of Bishop Paúl exist referring to various points of parochial administration, modifying the boundaries of some of the parishes and determining those of others which had been abusively altered, establishing some religious associations and reorganizing others, and regulating the spiritual services in the town along the line of the Canal. On the 6th. of August, 1884, he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Bogotá, but due to the revolution which then broke out he was not able to undertake the voyage until the following year. Monsignor Jované was again appointed some time after, as governor of the diocese during the vacancy.

CHAPTER XLV

1. Rev. Dr. José Alejandro Peralta, 45th. bishop of Panamá. His birth; entrance to the Seminary. He is sent to the College "Pío Latino Americano".
2. His return to Rome; his ordination. He is named parish priest of Bucaramanga and then of Girón.
3. He is elected bishop of Panamá. His consecration. His entrance to Panamá.
4. His first administrative acts. Repairs of the churches. Decrees and circulars.
5. Reorganization of the Seminary.
6. Abuses opportunely corrected.
7. Reestablishing moral theology conferences for the clergy.
8. Spiritual services.
9. Various other matters.
10. Death of Bishop Peralta.

Most Rev. Don Alejandro Peralta was born in Pamplona (Colombia) the 3d. of May, 1846, of eminent Christian parents who from his earliest years gave him careful training. When he was ten years old (1856) they placed him in the Seminary of his diocese, where it was not long before he made known the beautiful gift with which heaven had endowed him. Intelligent, active, affable, of an attractive disposition, industrious in his studies, pious and of magnanimous heart, young Peralta not only captivated the estimation and confidence of his superiors and professors but the sincere affection of his fellow students.

The College "Pío Latino" in Rome, having been founded recently, at instigation of the immortal Pius IX, for the sole purpose of instructing the young men of Latin America who desired to follow the divine vocation of priesthood, the prelate of Pamplona having discovered in young Peralta exceptional and very estimable qualities which were a promise not alone of good for his diocese but of glory for the clergy of the same, resolved to send him for his higher studies to that center of wisdom and virtues. Naturally it was necessary to obtain first both the permission of the one to

be ordained as well as of his parents. Both accepted the proposition with rejoicing, and the voyage to Rome was decided for the following year, 1861. Young Peralta was less than fifteen years old.

The youth from Pamplona remained ten years in the famous college, where all his faculties both spiritual and moral developed admirably under the influence of the wisdom which is imparted there and of the virtue which is there acquired. He pursued with zeal and application the studies of human wisdom, obtaining the degree of Doctor in Theology; and at the same time he devoted himself to making progress in divine learning, meriting to be chosen to receive Holy Orders.

2. Having been graduated as doctor he returned after ten years (1871) to place himself at the service of his prelate and his diocese, taking part with the docility and simplicity of a child in the spiritual tasks which it was thought proper to entrust to him. Having been ordained priest by the Reverend Bonifacio A. Toscano, Bishop of Pamplona, on the 3d. of May, 1871, he filled the important parishes of Bucaramanga and Girón, leaving in them as in all the rest of positions to which he was called, the marks of his zeal, of his activity, of his abnegation and of his intelligent administration. There still remains as a monument of these outstanding qualities the famous parochial church of Girón, a work of extraordinary value and merit for those times, and even to the present time, whose every stone speaks of sacrifice, each arch a privation and each vault a fervent prayer of the zealous parish priest.

3. When the Panamanian See was made vacant by the promotion of Bishop Telésforo Paúl to the metropolitan See of Bogotá, the two powers, ecclesiastic and civil, happily united by the "Concordate" between the Holy See and the Republic of Colombia, by common accord, appointed Father José Alejandro Peralta, of the diocese of Pamplona, already well known for his intellectuality and for the extraordinary deeds of his zeal, to occupy the first See of the American Continent and to be the worthy successor of very eminent prelates such as Antonio de León, Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, Diego Ladrón de Guevara, Francisco Javier de Luna Victoria, José Antonio de Umeres Miranda, Friar Higinio Durán and many others. Having been consecrated in Pamplona on the 24th. of October of 1886 by the Rt. Rev. Don José Ignacio Parra, who also had been bishop of Panamá, Rev. Peralta entered

into his episcopal city on the 29th. of January of the following year 1887, in the midst of the enthusiasm and acclamations of the inhabitants of the city, who were anxiously awaiting him, aware of how great an apostle Providence was sending them as pastor for His souls.

4. Bishop Peralta found a great deal to do in his diocese. According to the chronicles of that epoch the churches of a great majority of the interior, either did not exist or were in a completely deplorable state. The first efforts of the young priest were directed in remedying as far as possible the great evils.

Eighty-two decrees on various administrative themes and forty-six circulars of the same nature give testimony of the zeal as well as the energy of Rt. Rev. Peralta. The teaching of Christian Doctrine, so necessary everywhere not only for children, but also for adults, and unfortunately so neglected by the parish priests of the diocese, claimed his attention first. His first decree is on this vital matter, and later in October, 1892, he founds in all the parishes catechism societies for this teaching, solidly organizing them.

5. The difficult circumstances through which this diocese has traversed from its foundation to the present day, have been a perpetual obstacle to the creation of a seminary in due form. The scarcity of funds on the one hand, as being the principal reason and cause for the rest of them; the fault of adequate personnel on the other, and finally the lack of a building adequate for an establishment of this kind, have until the present day, delayed the realization of so important and necessary a work. The clergy nevertheless, some more, some less, overcoming difficulties and even oppositions, have succeeded in one way or another in remedying the evil to the best of their ability in order to obtain vocations for the priesthood. Although in truth, these have been and continue to be extremely scarce and rare.

Most Rev. Sr. Peralta encountered the same difficulties as had his predecessors, but like them he applied himself to making the best of circumstances. He made various efforts to found a seminary; and although he did not fulfill his desires, he attained if only in a measure, the end he had in view. The paucity of the clergy goaded him, for with the very few which he found in the diocese it was impossible to satisfy its spiritual needs. His decree No. 53 of 1891 and various circulars to the parish priests with this purpose, reveal all the interest which he took in this matter.

6. Numerous abuses condemned and forbidden by the church had crept into many of the parishes of the diocese due to the carelessness, to the culpable tolerance and even the connivance of the parish priests, such as ringing the bells at the baptism of illegitimate children; the priests serving as godfathers without the permission of the bishop; dispensing of their own accord with marriage bans without having the authority to do so; witnessing marriages without permission of the bishop or parish priest; performing marriage ceremonies in private oratories or in private houses without having obtained the required license; performing said marriages at night, without just causes or the permission of the bishop; blessing objects situated under the jurisdiction of another parish without the permission of the respective parish priest; leaving the parish for more than forty-eight hours without appointing a substitute in it, and without advising the Vicario Foráneo; publishing articles through the press without permission of the ecclesiastical authorities; permitting in the church, during the celebration of Holy Mass, dancing and ridiculous one act plays called "diablitos", or of masks on the feast of Corpus Christi; permitting processions at late hour of the night giving occasions for scandals and abominations. These and many other abuses for which the clergy were principally responsible, Bishop Peralta uprooted by his decree No. 60 of the 21st. of June, 1893, in which he imposes suspension "ipso facto incurrenda" to every priest guilty of such faults or lending cooperation to them.

7. In order to obtain the sanctifying and enlightening of his clergy, he established Moral Theology Conferences which Rt. Rev. José Ignacio Parra had already put in practice during his episcopacy and which had fallen into disuse. For this purpose he divided the diocese into eight vicariates, namely: those of San Juan Bautista, San José, San Pedro, the Immaculate Conception, Atanasio, Santiago, San Miguel and San Pablo.

He assigned to the vicariate of San Pedro, the parishes of Santa Ana, San Felipe, Arraiján, Calidonia, Capiro, Chame, Chepo, Chimán, Cruces, Darién, Gorgona, Pacora, San Carlos, San Miguel (Balboa), Saboga, Taboga and La Chorrera.

To the Immaculate Conception he assigned those of Colón, Bocas del Toro, Chagres, Gatún, Palenque and Portobelo.

To that of San Juan Bautista, those of Penonomé, Aguadulce, Antón, La Pintada, Natá and Olá.

To that of San José, those of Pesé, Las Palmas, Los Pozos, Macaracas and Ocú.

To that of San Antonio, those of Las Tablas, Chitré, Guararé, Los Santos, Parita, Pedasí, Pocrí and Santa María.

To that of Santiago, those of Santiago, Atalaya, Calobre, Montijo, Ponuga, San Francisco and Santa Fe.

To that of San Miguel, those of Soná, Cañazas, La Mesa, Las Palmas and Río de Jesús.

To that of San Pablo, those of David, Alanje, Boquerón, Bugaba, Dolega, Gualaca, Remedios, San Félix, San Lorenzo, San Pablo and Tolé.

This division was later modified by Bishop Peralta himself, who was obliged now by the poverty of the towns who were not able to contribute the support of the priest, now by the scarcity of priests, to suppress various parishes annexing them to others and reducing the vicaries to six. The metamorphosis which all the strip of the territory underwent by the construction of the Canal where existed the old parishes of Chagres, Gatún, Gorgona and Arraiján, which have disappeared, also brought with it great modification in the vicariates of San Pedro and of the Inmaculada Concepción. These vicaries, however, exist today.

8. Always anxious as was natural, in the sanctification of the clergy, he put in practice with all zeal, the repeated recommendations of the Holy See referring to spiritual exercises. The activity of pastoral life brings with it necessarily certain exigent demands, and he who devotes himself exclusively to others cannot help but neglect himself. A parish priest who is extremely zealous and active cannot cultivate his own spirit, and instruct others, without devoting time for instructing himself, and frequently he cannot find an hour in which to commune with God, among the many hours which he consecrates to dealing with the world. A priest must unite the virtue of Martha to that of Mary, for if he owes his brethren something, he owes himself no less; and if he must love all souls, he should not love his own the less.

On the other hand the fruit of a ministry depends greatly upon the sanctity of the priest. It is indisputable that a virtuous priest exercises a strong and more beneficent influence on the people, than one who is not virtuous, although on the other hand he may be very learned. Jesus Christ himself withdrew at times from

the multitudes and went alone to pray and thus could say what all priests should say, *Ego sanctificavi meipsum, ut sint et ipsi sanctificati* (Joan, XVII, 19). It is a fact which no one disputes that spiritual exercises are to the clergy a powerful medium of sanctification, and absolutely necessary to perseverance in the Sanctity of his state. Hence the reason for the zeal which all prelates display not to miss those exercises at least every two years as prescribed in the Concilio of Latin America.

The first meeting of priests to practice these spiritual exercises took place in Santiago de Veraguas; and although the secretary of the prelate forgot to put the date of the decree, it is gathered by the chronological order of the collection that it must have taken place in 1894.

9. Several other decrees and important circulars came from the learned pen of Bishop Peralta, delineating boundaries of parishes, assigning salaries, determining contributions, establishing brotherhoods and religious associations, founding parochial societies, correcting abuses, regulating the ecclesiastical fee, abolishing censurable and unlawful customs, and granting powers, privileges and exemptions.

His activity did not limit itself to the spiritual government of his diocese, but even extended to matters of purely civil order, for he gave his cooperation and assistance to the government in all that was possible, relative to the material welfare of the people. Thus it was that in difficult times for the work of the interoceanic Canal when requested to intervene by his good influence with the government of the nation, he gladly accepted the commission to go with two other gentlemen to the capital of the republic to solve the difficulties that presented themselves, and obtained the greatest success in his negotiations.

Rt. Rev. Sr. Peralta died in the early hours of the morning on the 8th. of July, 1899. His death causing deep consternation not only in the capital of the department but in all the diocese and in all the republic of Colombia, where he was justly held in great esteem. His funeral, which was extremely solemn and ceremonious, took place on the same day, the 8th. in the afternoon. The celebrant of the obsequies was the actual Vicar General, Father Antonio María Sanguillén. There follows herewith the death record: "The undersigned priest of the Sagrario certifies: That the following record is found in the archives.—No. 40. In Pa-

namá on the 8th. of July, 1899, the priest, Antonio Félez, Cura del Sagrario, attended the solemn obsequies which the Vicar General, Father Antonio María Sanguillén, celebrated in the Holy Cathedral Church, body present, of Most Rev. Bishop Doctor José Alejandro Peralta, native of Pamplona in the department of Santander, bishop of this diocese since January 1887; age 53 years 2 months and 5 days. He died of pneumonia after having received the sacred rites.—Antonio Félez.

True copy. Panamá, February 29, 1916.—José Quinzada."

CHAPTER XLVI

1. Rt. Rev. Señor Don Francisco Javier Junguito, fortieth bishop of Panamá. Great Colombian Revolution, 1899-1903.
2. Birth of Rev. Junguito. His first studies. His entrance into the Society of Jesus. His life in it.
3. He arrives in Panamá. The residence of Jesuits is temporarily transferred to Cartagena. He receives the appointment of bishop.
4. His consecration. He enters Panamá.
5. Difficult situation of the diocese.
6. Panamá separates itself from the republic of Colombia.
7. Unfavorable attitude of the new government. Hostile laws against the Church.
8. Visit to the diocese.
9. He provides a better residence for the Fathers of the Society.
10. Foundation of the Asylum of San José de Malambo.
11. The Salesian Fathers are established in Panamá.
12. Consecration of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of San José, Costa Rica.
13. Arrival of the Christian Brothers and their establishment in Panamá.
14. Ordination of six priests.
15. Death of Bishop Junguito.

1. In the same year in which Bishop Peralta died, the last revolution in Colombia (October, 1899) broke out, which lasted a little more than three years and which has been the most disastrous of many which have drenched with blood the Colombian soil.

It was an unfortunate time for the diocese to have a vacant See, for if its government is difficult at normal times, with the proper bishop holding the reins, it is much more so at a time of general upheaval as grave as the one which produced the revolution referred to.

The Holy See, however, in spite of difficulties and contradictions which the restlessness of the people and the abnormality of

the circumstances offered, provided for the vacancy, appointing Rt. Rev. Father Francisco Javier Junguito, S. J., Bishop of Panamá.

2. Rev. Sr. Junguito was born in Bogotá on the 3rd. of December, 1841, of a distinguished family, who gave him an education in accordance with his rank. After having finished his studies in one of the most accredited schools of the Colombian capital, he was preparing to enter the Society of Jesus when the religious persecution incited by General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (1861) burst forth, which banished from the country all religious communities.

Young Junguito, who at the time was twenty years old, went into banishment with the Jesuits, who went to Guatemala. In this city he entered the Society on the twenty-seventh of October, 1862.

It is useless to say that during the whole time of probation he distinguished himself as a model of regularity and good will, pursuing with zeal and success the accustomed studies in order to prepare its members, either for the professorate or for the apostolate.

When the revolution broke out in 1871, the revolutionary chief Miguel García Granados, who defeated the government, expelled from the republic the religious orders who for long years had been established therein.

The Jesuits were among the number of those banished, and with them, a second time, our young novice. They moved to Nicaragua, where at the time a good government was in force, arriving at that republic in the year mentioned (1871).

Here the young Junguito remained, terminating his studies of ecclesiastical science and preparing to be ordained into the priesthood, which was conferred upon him by the Rt. Rev. Manuel Ulloa y Calvo on the 17th. of January, 1875. Affairs were progressing fairly well in Nicaragua until in 1881, there also, a revolution broke out headed by Gen. Zavala. The new president, a liberal, commenced at once, as all of his party do, the task of persecuting the church in the name of liberty and patriotism. Once more the Jesuits became the victims of liberal liberty, who expelled from the territory of the republic, went in June of 1881 to Panamá, in order thence to continue to different destinations. By order of the superiors, Father Junguito remained in the Capital of the Isthmus, employed in the labors which the Society had there.

3. Fourteen years he spent in Panamá, successfully exercising his zeal, now as a military chaplain now as the chaplain of Santo Tomás Hospital. The battalion quartered in the city, whose chiefs fortunately were of good character, came to be a model of morality thanks to the zeal and good spiritual direction of the chaplain, seconded by the efficacious cooperation of the chiefs. The Hospital of Santo Tomás also received a beneficial increase due to the initiative and decisive actions of Father Junguito in harmony with the rest of the members of the Board of Charities.

Having overcome in 1895 grave difficulties which forced the Society to temporarily suppress the residence in Panamá, the Jesuits, whose superior was then Father Junguito, moved to Cartagena, summoned there by Reverend Biffi. He was there when he received his appointment as bishop of Panamá, made by His Holiness Leo XIII, to succeed Rt. Rev. Don José Alejandro Peralta, who had died two years before.

4. He was appointed in the Roman Consistory of April 15th. of said year, received consecration from the hands of Don Pedro Adán Brioschi on the 14th. of July in the Cathedral of Cartagena, and endeavored immediately to move to his diocese which urgently claimed his presence, due to its unfortunate circumstances caused by the great revolution. He entered Panamá on the 1st. of August in the midst of the enthusiasm and of the joy of the inhabitants who gave him a magnificent reception. On the 15th. of the same month, feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Patron of the Cathedral, he celebrated with solemnity his first Pontifical Mass.

5. Very difficult and extremely hazardous was the position in which Bishop Junguito found his diocese upon taking it over. The civil war was in all its fury: mobilizing of troops, assaults, combats, restless spirits, everything at a standstill, distrust in everything, insecurity in all things, more or less alarming news which disturbed tranquillity, persecution, etc.: this was the atmosphere which permeated the republic from one end to the other.

The same excesses, ruins, and disasters, were being repeated with more or less intensity in all the sections of the country.

6. It was impossible to plan to do anything under such conditions, and to await the passing of the storm was not only the most convenient but the only thing that could be done. The war

had an unexpected outcome for the Panamá district which placed the relations of the state and church in a very precarious situation. The Separatist movement, which was initiated in October, 1903, and which resulted in the independence of the Isthmus on the 3rd. of November of the same year, completely changed the state of affairs existing up to that time between the two powers.

The new government in spite of promise made to Rt. Rev. Junguito by the first president of the recently formed republic, Dr. Don Manuel Amador Guerrero, could not hide its anti-Catholic tendencies.

7. Already in the Constitutional Assembly, gathered to draw up the Constitution of the new republic, when discussing what is today article 26 of the National Constitution, there arose, as was to be expected interesting and vehement discussions.

The Conservatives wished to retain the constitutional principle that in the republic the profession of any religion would be *tolerated*, previously recognizing that the Catholic religion is that of the nation; and the liberals sustained *freedom of worship*. During three days, of day and night sessions, the question was discussed, the liberals gaining their point, seventeen against the conservatives, who were fifteen.

To mitigate the disagreeable effects of such a doctrinal discussion and because of the expressed desire to keep united the minds of the members of the "Convención", the latter agreed at the motion of member Don Nicolás Victoria J., to record in the Constitution that the Catholic Religion is that of the majority of the inhabitants of the republic. And upon the motion of Don Manuel Amador Guerrero and Don Pablo Arosemena it was established in the article mentioned, that the law would help the Catholic Church to form a Seminary (conciliar) in the City of Panamá and for the missions for the native tribes. This last as is understood is exotic in a constitution; but the "Conventionaries" wished to have it included there in order to give proof of conciliation and harmony at a time difficult for the country, and in view also of the fact previously recorded that the Catholic religion is that of the majority of Isthmians.

Both amounts, that for the aid of the Seminary and of the support of the missions, failed to be paid for the first time while Dr. Belisario Porras was president of the republic, a state of affairs which has continued in the present administration. The later na-

tional legislatures more or less have been inspired with the same ideas and same liberal sentiments: the cemeteries were declared laic; an effort was made to make teaching laic although they did not succeed; the separation of the Church from the state was declared; a concordat, celebrated in 1887 by the Holy See with the republic of Colombia, was not recognized; the obligation to pay the diocese the debt contracted by the Colombian government in restitution for the goods of which it had been despoiled, and which passed into the hands of private individuals who actually hold them, was repudiated; religious holidays were not respected, obliging work on those days when they fell on week days; the official attendance of schools at religious acts was forbidden; civil marriage was declared obligatory; legal divorce was established; and lastly, other laws have been made which openly proclaim that the separatist movement was not only in respect to Colombia but also in respect to the Church.

8. When calm was restored and it became easier to communicate with the interior, he undertook the pastoral visit of his diocese, which he found in a most deplorable state, a fact to be expected after so long and ruinous a war. Many of the parish priests had been obliged temporarily to abandon their parishes in order to escape the taunts and insults of which the past revolution had been so prodigal. The condition of the churches, and what is more to be regretted, the condition of the souls had suffered almost irreparable ruin.

To reconquer what was lost, was the first thought and effort of Rt. Rev. Junguito. So it appears from record of visits which in the different towns of the diocese, we have seen. The regulations recorded in them, aim at the restoration of the things in Christ, according to the beautiful expression of the unforgettable Pius X, a restoration which still shall require many years, for it is more difficult to remedy moral than material evils; and if the material one have not yet been improved, there is assuredly still a great deal to correct in the moral ones. Oh! dire revolutions!

9. In imitation of Friar Cristóbal Martínez de Salas, 15th. Bishop of Panamá, Bishop Junguito seeing that the Jesuit Fathers, who lent very remarkable services to the diocese in the different branches of their priestly ministry, were badly lodged in a wing of the Church of San Francisco, determined to build a house at the rear of said church where several fathers of the worthy Society

with a certain number of brother coadjutors might live.

The successor of Rt. Rev. Father Junguito granted to the society the perpetual usufruct of that property with the sole condition that if by any circumstance said Society should abandon its residence in Panamá, the property with its improvements will revert to the actual possession of the diocese.

10. Just about at this time a charitable man died in Panamá by the name of Manuel Jaén, upon whom Providence had bestowed worldly goods. He wished to render his country a positive good, by remedying as far as possible one of its most urgent necessities. In view of the large number of orphan girls, whom lack of protection was casting into the abyss of perdition, he conceived the noble and generous idea to destine a part of his fortune to the foundation of an asylum which was to care exclusively for the gathering in and protection of girls real orphans, who not only had no parents but also lacked other relatives who might care for them. He took up the matter with the prelate and in mutual agreement decided the quantity and quality of goods that were to be assigned to such a charitable work: Jaén giving a house sufficiently large, which he owned in the district of Malambo, with some other small income, to contribute to the support of the asylum which was not to admit more than forty girls under the category already mentioned. It was also agreed that said asylum be confided to an order of religious women, preferring for the purpose, that of the Sisters of Charity, of Saint Vincent de Paul, already well known in the city, and who were there in charge of other works of charity. This Sr. Jaén designated in his will, for a serious illness which overcame him caused his death without permitting him to see his work realized.

As he himself was not able to establish it, he stated also in the will which delegated his powers to a board to be composed of the Bishop of the diocese as president, of the governor of the department and of the wife of the testator, to carry out his pious intention and to turn over the house with the other property which he left for the asylum, to the community of the Sisters of Charity.

Rt. Rev. Sr. Junguito, realizing that what Jaén was leaving would not be sufficient for the maintenance of the work, arranged that the Sisters should receive the rental of a house belonging to the diocese which is next door to that destined for the asylum.

This charitable institution is the only one of its kind existing in the city. It as well as the Board designated by the charitable founder exist today, and is supported by the rentals above mentioned, the personal work of the orphans, and some donations which the charity of the faithful contribute.

11. During the episcopal administration of Rt. Rev. Junguito, the pious Salesian Society of Don Bosco was established in Panamá. These fathers wished to found a house of their congregation in the capital of the Isthmus. As the city had grown considerably at the northern part, and consequently also the parish of Santa Ana, to which that part belonged, the Bishop separated from it the parish of San Miguel de Calidonia, established by Bishop Telésforo Paúl, and confided it to the deserving followers of Don Bosco, who in that way were able to establish the foundation which they desired.

These Fathers, moreover with the aid of the government and some well to do people also founded a magnificent orphan asylum, which they now own in the beautiful automobile road which leads to the Sabanas, and is giving the most satisfying and comforting results.

12. In September, 1901, one of the most eminent prelates of the American Episcopate, Dr. Don Bernardo August Thiel, Bishop of San José de Costa Rica, died. The Rt. Rev. Junguito, who was allied to the illustrious deceased by bonds of sincere friendship, had solemn funeral rites celebrated in the Cathedral for the eternal repose of so worthy a prince of the Church.

His successor, Rev. Dr. Don Juan Gaspar Stork, of the same Congregation of the Mission, desiring that his consecration take place in the same cathedral, begged the kind Señor Junguito to go to the Costa Rican Capital to do him the brotherly service.

The Panamanian prelate accepted with pleasure, this being an occasion to bind more firmly the existing relations between both dioceses.

13. When peace was established in Colombia by virtue of the treaty celebrated on the 22nd. of November, 1902, in the bay of Panamá on board the American man-of-war Wisconsin, Dr. Facundo Mutis Durán was appointed governor of the existing department of Panamá, who named Sr. Nicolás Victoria Jaén Secretary of Public Instruction.

The governor Doctor Mutis Durán as well as the secretary,

Sr. Victoria Jaén, were both much preoccupied over the disastrous state in which three years of cruel war had left the primary public instruction, and on this account were incessantly planning the means which they should employ in order to prevent the continuation of a similar state of affairs.

The principal obstacle which he had to conquer was the lack of competent teachers, and to overcome this, some steps were taken, but without any practical result.

Things being in this state, the governor sent his secretary, Sr. Victoria Jaén, to Bogotá on a special mission, with instruction to obtain in Cundinamarca and Antioquia efficient teachers; these he did not succeed in obtaining, as he found scarcity of teachers even there.

One day in Bogotá, when Sr. Victoria Jaén was talking with the Minister of Public Instruction of Colombia, Doctor José Joaquín Casas about the difficulty which existed in procuring good teachers, the latter told the former to get in touch with Brother Julio, visitant of the Christian Brothers, to see if he might send some to Panamá.

A few days later the secretary, Sr. Victoria Jaén, went to the house of the brotherhood in Bogotá, bearing a letter of introduction from the above mentioned Minister. Brother Julio and the secretary, Sr. Victoria Jaén, spoke about the matter in question without reaching any immediate conclusion, on account of there not being a large personnel in Bogotá, but not without deferring the matter for a more propitious time.

A few months after this, secretary Victoria Jaén returned from Bogotá to Panamá, where he continued working with tenacity for the improvement of primary public instruction.

What we have thus far related took place in the first half of the year 1903. As stated before, on the 3rd. of November of the same year the Isthmus of Panamá separated itself from Colombia. When the separation was verified, Sr. Victoria Jaén was named by the Junta Provisional of the Government, first minister of Public Instruction of the new nation; but he declined acceptance of the honorable charge and was immediately replaced by Sr. Julio J. Fábrega.

During the regime of the Provisional Government, Brother Julio already mentioned, came to Panamá, with whom the minister Fábrega arranged the coming of the Brothers. He made no

contract. He offered, however, to place them in the branch of public instruction with the national salaries, guaranteeing them that they would remain in their position for more or less time, according to their vows and ability.

In July, 1904, the first brothers arrived in Panamá. At that time Sr. Nicolás Victoria Jaén was in charge of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Justice, an appointment conferred upon him by the first constitutional president of Panamá, Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero.

Sr. Victoria Jaén established the normal school for boys and put it into the hands of the first Christian Brothers who arrived at Panamá. Months afterwards, as the teaching personnel of the institution increased, they were given charge of the primary schools of David, Los Santos, Colón, Penonomé and Santiago de Veraguas. There being then no other college in the city beside the normal school, the minister Sr. Victoria Jaén decided to found a junior high school, a middle course between both instructions. He proposed by this that the young men, especially from the capital, who in spite of the war, had acquired private school elementary instruction, continue studying in the high school referred to until they acquired the degree of commercial expert. This new institution was also placed in the care of the Christian Brothers, with very good results considering the times. When Minister Victoria Jaén, in 1906, left the ministry, he was replaced by Don Melchor Lasso de la Vega, who continued to push public instruction. This gentleman not only continued to use brothers in the schools mentioned, but also put them in charge of those of Aguadulce and Taboga. Among the Normal School for boys, the High School of the Capital and the primary schools of David, Colón, Los Santos, Santiago, Aguadulce, Penonomé and Taboga, the number of Christian Brothers increased to almost 100. All of them worked with enthusiasm and intelligence in national instruction.

14. The law number 11 of 1904 established twenty-four scholarships for youths who were to be sent to foreign countries in search of different studies, and various professions in various countries. Sr. Nicolás Victoria J., Secretary of Public Instruction and Justice, 1904-5, who was the one responsible for the enforcement of the law referred to, issued a decree on the adjudging of scholarships, in which were named the courses of studies, professions, and places to which were to be sent the young men chosen.

and the requirements necessary for the aspirants to the scholarship.

In that decree it was proposed to destine out of the 24 scholarships, two for young men who might wish to follow the priesthood. These were to pursue their studies in Rome in the College Pío Latino. In order to carry out this, those two scholarships were to be placed at the disposal of Rt. Rev. Bishop of the diocese, and so Señor Junguito, of reverend memory, who was bishop at the time, was advised. The Rt. Reverend Bishop accepted the offer willingly and he reserved the right to send the youths when in his opinion there were any, who must fill the conditions stipulated by him.

In fact, in April, 1905, when Sr. Victoria Jaén was in the interior of the Republic fulfilling the duties which his position demanded, he received in Pesé a telegram from the Rt. Rev. Bishop in which he told him that he had decided to grant the scholarships, offered by the government, to the youths José Pezet and Alfredo Vieto, and that he hoped Sr. Victoria Jaén would give the necessary instructions, which the latter imparted immediately to the Bureau, in order that it should provide the Bishop with the necessary funds. The nation financed those scholarships until the year 1912. But with only two young men they were far from being able to meet the spiritual necessities of the diocese. Divine Providence, which always looks after the interests of His Church, as no vocations for the priesthood offered themselves among the native sons, brought from foreign countries, youths aspiring to the sublime career.

Bishop Junguito welcomed them, improvised with them a seminary, endeavored to train them as best he could, and had the consolation of conferring priesthood upon them with another young gentleman of the diocese who was admitted at the same time. There are six of these priests who are today rendering important services and are working with zeal in this part of the vineyard of the Lord.

15. His long apostolate, but above all his many mental sufferings, little by little undermined the health of the prelate, until, as a consequence of a cardiac affection he died almost suddenly, in his episcopal palace at 9:30 at night on the twenty-first day of October, 1911.

Herewith the death record: "In Panamá on the 22d. Oct., 1911. The undersigned Cura del Sagrario, chanted the offices of ecclesiastical burial over the body of the Rt. Rev. and Illustrious

Dr. Don Javier Junguito, S.J., very worthy bishop of this diocese, which he has governed for ten years. He was proclaimed on the 15th. of April, 1901; consecrated in Cartagena by Archbishop Don Pedro Adán Brioschi on the 14th. of July of the same year, arriving in this city on the 11th. of the following August. He was born in Bogotá on the 3rd. of December, 1841. He died on Saturday, 21st. of the current month at 9:30 p.m., day in which although ill, he celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass and was engaged in his spiritual exercises which he commenced every year on the 15th. of October. He confessed before dying, as was his custom to do on Saturday, and died without agony.

JOSE QUINZADA."

APPENDIX I

The Most Reverend Archbishop of Panamá, Monsignor Guillermo Rojas y Arrieta, first archbishop of Panamá.

The illustrious Bishop Junguito having died on the 21st. of October, 1911, he was succeeded by Bishop Rojas, who was consecrated on the 18th. of August, 1912. This illustrious man was born in Cartago, Costa Rica, on the 25th. of June, 1855; enjoying the means of obtaining a brilliant education and possessing more than ordinary talent, he proceeded to the universities and schools of Europe, in order that he might broaden his training, and with this university opportunity he became a refined and educated ecclesiastic. Besides, he became proficient in several of the foreign languages, and so fitted himself well for the church work, which he chose as his vocation. Having been ordained, after a few years, in 1887, he joined the Vincentians or the Lazarists, who were doing extensive mission in Central and South America. His ability was quickly recognized and we find him largely employed in seminary and missionary work in Colombia. Afterwards, he came to Panamá, where he was when his illustrious predecessor died. Those who knew his ability were quick to center their choice upon him as the future Bishop of Panamá. A man of candor, frankness and humility, he was not at all anxious after the honor which they wished to confer upon him, but the diocese of Panamá was fortunate enough to realize his appointment as its 47th. Bishop. Panamá, always hard to rule on account of the heterogenous population, became harder still when the new element of American influence and population came to construct the Canal. The new Bishop saw the necessity of adopting methods that would meet the progress that was practically forced upon the country by the introduction of a singular organization in the work of the Canal construction. He had lived on

the Canal Zone some time, and had studied the necessities of the Republic of Panamá in conjunction with this operation, hence, he made plans to meet the exigency of the situation. For the English speaking element so large now in construction work, he invited the priests of the mission from Philadelphia to take charge of the spiritual interest of the Canal Zone and English speaking element in general. He then turned his attention to the formation of plans for the better government of his diocese. He wanted to put more spiritual life into the various places where religion was, to say the least, manifesting very little energy. He knew that one of the best means was to have a diocesan synod, so in 1915 he held the first synod of this ancient diocese. In 1923 he had the pleasure of celebrating the first Catholic Congress held on the soil of Panamá. He wrote numerous pastoral letters to stir up the zeal and devotion of this people, and in 1916 he threw a challenge to the Protestant Congress, that made an abortive attempt to impress this country with their religious creed under the mask of the material progress that they wanted to claim as their own, now witnessed on the Canal Zone. Needless to say that the Congress was a failure. The Bishop labored hard on as many visitations and his reconstruction of the parishes and the parochial work, so we might say that under his episcopacy, the diocese assumed a new religious aspect. Many wise methods were introduced in order to counteract the dangerous propaganda that always follows the material progress of North Americans in their labors amongst their Latin American friends, but what will ever single out his episcopate as peculiarly honorable and elevating to Panamá is the elevation of this most ancient of all Western continental dioceses to an archi-episcopal see. He was elected Archbishop in the consistory on the 14th. of December, 1925. The Bull, however, of elevation, was not read in Panamá until the 9th. of May, the following year. The big vision of the new Archbishop in the new Archbishopric is being already realized in the spiritual development of the localities that have been given out under his care to zealous vicars that they may develop more particularly and personally the spiritual life of the people in the vast and unfrequented parts of the Archdiocese. It is hardly necessary in a work like this to call attention to the missionary character of this country, which one would think from its antiquity would be amongst the foremost Catholic centers of the New World, but unfortunately

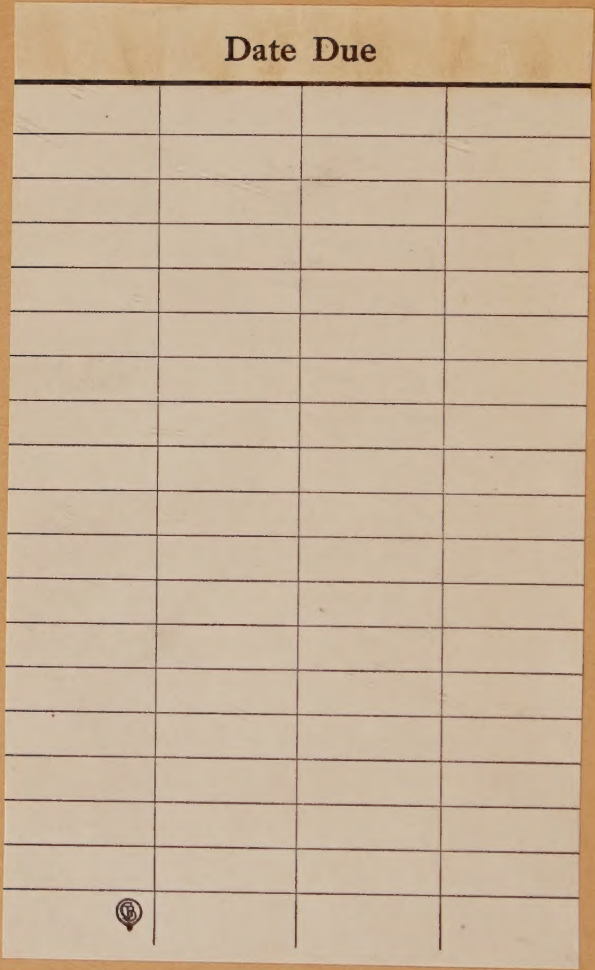
the fact is ever present to us that almost at our doors, there are vast stretches of country and numerous tribes of savages, yet undeveloped and uncivilized, and above all, numerous tribes of Indians that have never received the light of the Gospel. It is almost incredible to believe that there are even tribes that have not seen a Christian Missionary for 100 years, or more, not because there were not missionaries who rapt at their gates for admission, but because the Christian influence of this country has not been strong enough to regain, we might say, those tribes that were largely lost to the faith thru the bad government and trickery of politics. We have great hopes for the future administration of the archdiocese, and we believe that within a short term of years all the Indians of Panamá will have had the opportunity of embracing the civilizing influence of religion. There are missionaries now that are ready to teach them, and we hope that Providence will continue to favor with zeal, men who can spend their lives as profitably within the district of San Blas and Darién as they can in the more distant and the more difficult fields of China and Japan. We cannot write as much as we would about the present incumbent of the See of Panamá, for he is still living and we know him too well to be sure that he will approve even so much as we have written in his praise, but we could not do less in justice nor could we finish the history without mentioning the man that has placed this See and this people and this country amongst the high representations of the Western world.

We hope that the life of the Archbishop will be written by someone more particularly acquainted with him and better able to portray his character, and that it will be a history of itself as it deserves to be, telling the story of the first Archbishop that has come to his elevation with the rich inheritance of the past prelates who labored so zealously in this country.

APPENDIX II

HOSPITALS IN PANAMA

The Hospital is no recent institution in Panamá. We find it in Old Panamá and there it was run by an order of Brothers. The development has been more or less continuous and now we are rejoicing in probably the best hospital service in the world, according to comparative conditions. Of course, everyone now thinks of the Gorgas or Ancon Hospital, and naturally compares the hospitals of ancient times with those of the present day. Of course, this is not fair, because in every country, especially of the Western world Hospitals did not amount to much until the last fifty years, that is, they were not well equipped. The Ancon Hospital, as it has been known for a long time, did not begin until 1883, under the French. It was given in charge to the French order of the Sisters of Charity, and as far as we can find, they did not give to it the usual attention that they pay to works that are consigned to their care. This was probably owing to the difficulties of harmonizing French and Panamanian conditions. Later on, it was the desire of President Roosevelt to turn over the Ancon Hospital to the American Sisters of Charity, but the unexplainable bungling of Superiors in the transfer caused the American Government to take the matter of hospitalization into its own hands, and so, we have the grand hospital now in Ancón on the site where the French Sisters once run a hospital and which has memories that reach back to the early days of the Canal building. Hardly anyone can be interested in so modern an achievement as to look for its history in a book that relates to the Bishops of Panamá. Anyone who is interested in the new hospital may easily find books, especially written on this subject.

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